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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

CONFIDENTIAL SERIES –No. A. III.

H7

PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE KUKA SECT.

CIRCULAR No.—dated Lahore, the 3rd July 1863.

From—Major J. W. YOUNGHUSBAND, Offg. Inspector-General of Police, Punjáb

To—*All Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, Punjáb*

POLICE.
(Confidential.)
Movements of Rám Singh, a Sikh of the Jagiásí sect, to be watched.

FORWARDS, for information and guidance, copy of memorandum regarding one Rám Singh, of a Sikh sect, calling themselves Jagiásís. Also a Minute by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor on the memorandum.

Deputy Inspectors-General are requested to direct District Superintendents to forward, direct to Inspector-General and Secretary to Government, any information they may receive regarding Rám Singh, and also to impress upon them that intelligence should be collected in a quiet way, without excitement, and through different channels. Also that the intelligence or orders they may receive should not be bruited abroad.

MEMORANDA regarding Guru RAM SINGH, of a new sect of Sikhs—"Jagiásís"; gathered from confidential communications from various Officers in the Punjáb.

Mr. Green, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Attak, 12th June.

ABOUT 16 years ago, a Sikh named Bálak Singh, caste Arora, started a new sect of Sikhs at Hazru, in the Ráwalpindi district. They were named Jagiásís (or Habiásís), and made large numbers of converts in the neighbourhood during their founder's lifetime. Amongst his more favorite disciples were three: Kanh Singh, who now is the head of the sect at Hazru; Lal Singh, now resident at Amritsar; and Rám Singh, for some years past resident of village "Bhaini," in Ludiánah, and the subject of these notes. On the death of their founder, which occurred some six months ago, the members of the sect appear to have unanimously elected Rám Singh as his successor. Though the sect seem to have failed in the neighbourhood of Hazru since

Bálak Singh's death, it has thriven in a most remarkable manner in the districts adjoining the home of his more energetic successor.

Mr. Macnabb, Deputy Commissioner, Siálkot, 5th April.

The first intelligence the Police department received regarding them, of an unusual nature, was from the Deputy Commissioner of Siálkot. It was rumoured in that district that an elderly Sikh of Ludiánah, calling himself "Bhai," was going about the country with 200 men, whom he drilled at night with sticks instead of muskets; that he boasted of 5,000 followers, and obeyed no "Hákim"! They purposed going with a lot of women, who were also of their party, to the Baisákhi fair at Amritsar.

Lieut. Hamilton, District Superintendent of Police, Fírozpúr, 6th June.

In due course the party arrived at Amritsar (11th April), and it was found that their leader was Rám Singh. He is a spare man, 5 feet 10 inches; fairish complexion, pitted with small-pox; hazel eyes; long nose and face; grizzled beard and moustache; by caste a Carpenter S kh; reads and writes Gurmukhi, and has worked on occasion as a mason.

A report of his arrival at Amritsar having been made to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, Major McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore, was directed by him to proceed to that city, and, in conjunction with Major Mercer, Deputy Commissioner, to institute strict enquiry regarding Rám Singh and his real intentions.

Major Mercer, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, 11th April.

His followers at Amritsar were all sturdy young men, each with a stout stick. He expressed his intention of going to his home on the breaking up of the fair, and as no seditious language had been used, and he seemed peaceably disposed, it was considered unadvisable to interfere with him at the height of the fair. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police and Deputy Commissioner, with the Superintendent of Police, visited him; and as he seemed quite agreeable to their suggestion of dismissing the greater portion of his followers, he was allowed to go his way.

Lieut. Ramsay, District Superintendent of Police, Jálandhar, 16th May.

It would appear, he made his way through Jálandhar into Kapurthala territory, and so by the Haríki Ghát into Fírozpúr.

Lieutenant Hamilton, District Superintendent of Police, Fírozpúr, 7th June.

On 4th June the Chaukidár of village "Khota," in Fírozpúr, reported at Police station "Bagha Purana," that for two or three days Rám Singh, with 4 or 500 followers, had assembled at his village, and were behaving in a very extraordinary manner. They talked sedition, said the country would soon be theirs, and they would speedily have 125,000 armed men to back them; that they would only take a fifth of the land's produce from the cultivators; and were altogether comporting themselves in a very extraordinary manner.

A Police Sergeant at once repaired to the spot, and found the Chaukidár's statement to be quite correct. A number of women were also with them, and took part in all their proceedings. Soon after his arrival the meeting gradually broke up. Subsequently, on the 6th June, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, when making inquiries in "Khota" about Rám Singh, learnt, from the Lambardárs of that and neighbouring villages, that he had been talking seditiously.

The Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Fírozpúr, directed that no more assemblies were to take place, and that Rám Singh himself and his "chelás" were to be sent, station by station, to his home at Bhaini, in Ludiánah. This order has been carried out, and he is now under strict police surveillance at his home.

On submitting the above information from Lieutenant Hamilton to His Honor, he directed Secretary to Government to write to Mr. Thomas, Deputy Commissioner, Fírozpur, to proceed at once to Khota, take the depositions of the Lambardárs, forwarding copies direct to Secretary to Government, and, if necessary, cause the arrest at once of Rám Singh.

Major McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore, 9th June.

The preaching of Rám Singh is just now creating a good deal of sensation in the Punjáb, but opinions appear to be conflicting about him. For instance, Kaim Ali, Native Extra Assistant Commissioner at Batála, thinks he is dangerous, and should be arrested; while the Naib Tahsildar of the same place, Bhai Lehna Singh (brother of Pardumán Singh, of Amritsar temple, and therefore member of the Sikh priesthood), looks upon him only as a heretic, but not a dangerous character. Suspects, however, that, in his pretended fits of inspiration, he does sometimes utter treasonable prophecies.

Major McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore, 9th June.

Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Police, Amritsar, 7th June.

Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jálandhar, 8th June.

Lieutenant McNeile, Deputy Superintendent, Police, Siálkot, 13th June.

* Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jálandhar, 8th June.

Capt. Hall, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, 2nd June.

The leading features of the doctrine he teaches are as follows:—Abolishes all distinctions of caste among Sikhs; advocates indiscriminate intermarriage of all classes; enjoins the marriage of widows, all of which he performs himself; he never takes alms himself, and prohibits his followers from doing so; enjoins abstinence from liquor and drugs, but advocates much too free intercourse between the sexes; men and women rave together at his meetings, and thousands of women and young girls have joined his sect; he exhorts his disciples to be cleanly and truth-telling. One of his maxims says—"it is well that every man carry his staff;" and they all do. The Granth is their only accepted inspired volume. The brotherhood may be known by the tie of their pagris, "sídha pag," by a watchword,* and by a necklace of knots made in a white woollen cord to represent beads, and which are worn by all the community.

The question of their *drilling* at night, though frequently reported, seems still an open one. Díyal Singh, Lambardár, and Wazíra, late Chaukídár of Mutádah in Jálandhar (a village entirely converted by Rám Singh), state that drill often takes place a little way from the village, and that Sergeant Bahál Singh, of the Hushiárpur Police, with one or two discharged sepoys, instructed them. Bahál Singh frankly admits that Rám Singh is and has been his Guru for many years; that when on leave he goes to visit him, joins in their ceremonies, one of which is for the whole assembly to stand up in line and repeat some verses in a loud tone before separating for the night, and which might possibly have been taken for drill by the uninitiated.

Lieut. Ramsay, Deputy Superintendent, Police, Jálandhar, 8th June.

Major McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore.

Under instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor, Major McAndrew was directed to send trustworthy men from different districts to obtain information. Mr. Green, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Attak, was summoned and directed to hold a very strict and careful supervision over Hazrú, the head-quarters of Rám Singh's sect, and to watch carefully any signs of active correspondence going on, either by letter or otherwise.

Manní Rám, Brahmin, of Jálandhar, a convert to Rám Singh, but about to give him up again, his doctrines leading to immorality, states that he has been at several of his meetings, but never saw any drilling, and that the circumstance of their invariably standing up in line to go through some ceremonies before separating, must have led to the idea of their drilling. He asserts, however, that Rám Singh is certainly gifted with the powers of magic, which sends people into fits; he states he has seen above a thousand people affected in this way. In common with all other Sikhs, doubtless, Rám Singh wishes their rule back again, but he does not preach this. Considers him unquestionably a prophet, and believes his preaching to be entirely of a religious nature.

Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jálandhar, 8th June.

Again, Gaindah Singh, a Sikh informer, was sent by the Cantonment Magistrate, Jálandhar, to Rám Singh's village. The Guru himself was absent, but Sahib Singh, his lieutenant, was there. He expressed a desire to become a convert, and joined their party, which, at night, amounted to about 50 men. The "dhol" was sounded, and every one got a stick from Sahib Singh, who then proceeded to drill the party for about two hours, and all shouted "Akâl, Akâl". Gaindah Singh then expressing a desire to see the Guru himself, his disciple told him where to find him and gave him two papers for Rám Singh. These he never delivered, pretended to have lost them, and on return to Jálandhar made them over to the Cantonment Magistrate. The following are rough translations of the documents :—

Captain Millar, Cantonment Magistrate, Jálandhar, 11th June.

No. I. "Salutation. The Sahi of Guru Govind Singh. I, Guru Govind Singh, will be born in a carpenter's shop, and will be called Rám

Singh. My house will be between the Jamna and Satlej Rivers. I will declare my religion. I will defeat the Faringhí, and put the crown on my own head, and blow the sankh. The musicians shall praise me in 1921 (1864). I, the carpenter, will sit on the throne. When I have got one lakh and twenty-five thousand Sikhs with me, I will cut off the heads of the Faringhís. I will never be conquered in battle, and will shout 'Akâl, Akâl.' The Christians will desert their wives and fly from the country when they hear the shout of 1¼ lakhs of Khalsas. A great battle will take place on the banks of the Jamna, and blood will flow like the waters of the Rávi, and no Faringhí be left alive. Insurrections will take place in the country in 1922 (1865). The Khalsa will reign, and the Rajah and ryot will live in peace and comfort, and no one shall molest another.

"Day by day Rám Singh's rule will be enlarged. God has written this. It is no lie, my brethren. In 1865 the whole country will be ruled by Rám Singh. My followers will worship Bhagrao. God says this will happen."

No. II. "Salutation. Read the enclosed (*i. e.*, the above) to all Sikhs. It is the request of the Sikhs here. Send news of your whereabouts. We wish to see you here. You have been absent a long time. Come in this direction quickly. We can't remain apart from you so long."

Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner.
Lieut. Ramsay, District Superintendent of Police.
Captain Millar, Cantonment Magistrate.

Jálandhar, 18th June.

It was then resolved to send the following men in disguise to test the truth of the informer's story:—

1. * * * *
2. * * * *
3. * * * *

Men of good position and high respectability, but whose names are, for obvious reasons, omitted.

4. * * * * The informer.

On reaching Ludiánah it was found that the only men who could assume anything like a practicable disguise were No. 1 and the informer. These two accordingly visited Rám Singh, and though he was very suspicious, being now under strict Police surveillance, yet he didn't distrust them, as he had seen the informer before, and No. 1 was now introduced as his brother. They remained two days with him, and he treated them very kindly. On the first night he initiated them, and gave them a rosary or necklace made of wool. He had only one by him, but said a large supply was coming. The Gurmantar or mystic word he taught them was simply "Wáh Guru !" which they were to repeat constantly with their lips, but teeth closed. He then gave them some unexceptionable advice as to their mode of life. They were perfectly orderly and quiet. One night, however, he said that his disciples had been molested in Amritsar, Fírozpur, and other places, but that *one* of his followers (being under Divine protection) was equal to 100 other men, European soldiers included; that on one occasion three Europeans

actually came to his house or tent at Amritsar, and that if they had arrested him, his followers would have forthwith killed them. He had plenty of disciples in the Amritsar Police, who, had he chosen, would in half an hour have rid the place of every European in it—but the time had not yet come. No drill took place in their presence, but they heard from the disciples that it did take place regularly, under the Guru's lieutenant, Sahib Singh, who was then absent at Ludiánah.

On another occasion he told them that the English reign would soon cease,—that " its roots had not struck very deep."

His disciples actually believed him to be Guru Govind Singh, risen from the dead again, and that he could foresee and foretell everything, and that he actually had foretold the fall of the Sikh Raj. One day he told them that a Mahant from Nárowál (in Lahore or Siálkot) had informed him for certain that cartridges, prepared in the same way as in 1857, were again about to be distributed, and caps also filled with the same obnoxious stuff. Rám Singh has two lieutenants at his home with him, Sahib Singh and Jowahir Singh. The former is a sharp, shrewd fellow, and the drill instructor of the neighbourhood; the latter is merely a raving fanatic. Rám Singh is himself armed with a hatchet, all the others with sticks. No. 1 states that from what passed before him between his companion (the informer) and Rám Singh, he has no doubt that Sahib Singh did actually give Gaindah Singh the letters for Rám Singh, translations of which have been given above; and indeed, when they met Sahib Singh on their way home, he acknowledged as much in conversation with his companion. Nothing could be ascertained as to arms, but Rám Singh told them that when they were wanted they would be forthcoming. They ascertained that the Guru intended visiting Amritsar in great state at the Diwáli, and that his disciples, who were to assemble in great force there, evidently placed the most implicit confidence and obedience in their leader, and were quite ready to lay down their lives for him.

Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Police, Amritsar, 31st May.

Lal Singh, the third chosen disciple of the late Bálak Singh, and who is now at the head of the sect at Amritsar, gives out that this is the third "aotár" or impersonation of Guru Govind Sing, the second having been in the person of Maharaj Singh, in 1847. One of the city Police at Amritsar is a disciple of Rám Singh's, had been drawn out in conversation, and admitted in the presence of Narain Singh, Inspector of Lahore Police, that before the festival of the Diwáli this year all Rám Singh's plans would be complete, and an insurrection would break out in the city; that he had 40,000 followers in the Punjáb, able-bodied men, ready to rise; and that the Guru had announced his ability to get arms and even guns when the time came. He acknowledged that Rám Singh drilled his followers, but not at Amritsar, where they could not fail to be detected, and that he had a regular postal arrangement throughout the Punjáb, from village to village, but never used the post office.

Major Farrington, Commissioner, Amritsar Division, 31st May.
Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jálandhar, 18th June.
Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Police, Amritsar, 31st May.
Lieutenant Ramsay, District Superintendent, Police. Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner. } Jálandhar, 8th June.
Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Police, Amritsar, 7th June.

There seems to be a very general opinion abroad that a demonstration of some sort will take place at Amritsar on the part of Rám Singh and his disciples at or about the time of the Diwáli this year. Having served as a Sowar under the Sikh Government in Nao Nihal Singh's regiment, he may possibly have a taste for a row, and, under any circumstances, his pecuniary difficulties may induce him to create a disturbance rather than be arrested for debt.

Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Police, 22nd June.

A circular letter is now in circulation in the Amritsar district from Rám Singh to his disciples, one having been received by a Mahant, by name Narain Singh, of Amritsar. The following is a translation :—" Rám Singh writes in conjunction with his head followers to all the Khalsa—'Sri Wah Guru jí ke Khalsa ; Sri Wah Guru ji ke Fatteh *' ; to all Sikhs, to all villagers, to all women and children who visit the Diwán Darbár, pay attention to all I have taught you, or your faceswill be blackened in both worlds. Whoever commits adultery, theft, &c., let him not come to the Darbár, and if he tries to force his way, pray to the Guru to stop him. Sing the Granth together, and the praise of the Deity ; be afraid of none ; abuse no one. Your Guru watches over his followers, and will aid them. I send you the names of those who have offended me, that they may be refused admittance into your houses.

" Whoever makes money by the marriage of his daughter is a rascal (badmash). Whoever commits infanticide or exchanges his daughter is equally so. Your children should be educated in the precepts of the Granth.

" Come without fail at the Diwálí."

Major McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore, 25th June.

Has received from another source a copy of the above circulars of Rám Singh's.

Mr. Egerton, Commissioner, Lahore Division, 18th June.

Samand Singh appears to be Rám Singh's most turbulent follower. He is said to be mad. If, on enquiry, this prove to be correct, he might be sent to the Lunatic Asylum. Rám Singh himself appears to say little, but his immediate followers speak sedition, evidently with his sanction, and probably under his orders.

Officiating Inspector-General of Police.

The information regarding Rám Singh, being full and from many sources, and the movement having become one of some importance, the above abstract of intelligence and proceedings is prepared by order of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

J. W. YOUNGHUSBAND, *Major,*
Offg. Inspector-General of Police.

Murree, 28th June 1863.

* The Sikh war-cry.

Minute on Memorandum of Inspector-General of Police.

INTELLIGENCE of Ram Singh's proceedings was given to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor early in April, from which time the strictest watch has been maintained, without in any way molesting Ram Singh, to ascertain the character of his preaching and proceedings.

2. From the reports now submitted by many officers, it appears that Ram Singh is endeavoring to effect a reform in the Sikh religion and some of his doctrines and precepts are not only harmless, but also, beneficial.

3. His converts are numerous, but are confined chiefly to the lower classes. Some of them are to be found in the Police.

4. Ram Singh gives out that he does not seek an earthly kingdom, and his preaching, so far as has been ascertained, does not tend to, sedition.

5. But advantage is taken of his movement to circulate papers, whether true or false, in his name, which contain matter dangerous to the public welfare. Some of Ram Singh's followers have been reported as speaking seditious words, and there is undoubtedly an impression abroad that he is setting himself up as a future king, who is to drive the British out of the Punjáb.

6. Whatever be the intention, the result of his meetings and exhortations is to disturb the minds of the people, and already one slight disturbance between the orthodox and new sect has been reported; and it is very generally believed that at the Diwáli Fair at Amritsar there will be a grand meeting of the new sect, and some disturbance may be apprehended.

"An assembly which was not unlawful when it assembled may subsequently become an unlawful assembly."

7. Now, it appears from the foregoing, that the assemblies of Ram Singh are liable to come under the category of unlawful, and thus to constitute the offence specified in Section 141, Penal Code.—*Vide* Explanation.

8. There is sufficient ground to believe that an assembly, such as is contemplated at Amritsar during the Diwálí, will certainly prove an unlawful one by its acts.

9. Although, therefore, it is not the wish of Government to interfere in any mere question of religion, or to put a stop to assemblies brought together solely to effect reforms in a particular faith, still, if the measures proposed, or the conduct of the religionists, tend to provoke a breach of the peace, such assemblies must be considered unlawful, and the leaders render themselves liable to punishment by law.

10. In the present instance, Ram Singh and his followers are to be warned of the consequences apprehended, and are to be bound not to call any assembly at Amritsar. They are to have it so explained to them that their meetings, however harmless in themselves, lead to the belief that some harm is intended to the common peace and safety, and that reports—true or false—are circulated and believed, which tend to unsettle men's minds.

11. After this warning, should the assemblies be continued, and any disturbance follow, Ram Singh, and his disciples will be held responsible, and be tried under the sections referring to offences against the public tranquillity.

12. Ram Singh is to be directed to remain in his village, and the Police will keep themselves informed of and report direct on his proceedings.

T. D. FORSYTH,

Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjáb.

30th June 1863.

A brief Narrative of the Kuka Sect, with some Account of Ram Singh of Bhaini.

[No XII., Selected Papers.]

MEMORANDUM.

THE accompanying narrative of the Kuka sect (*i. e.*, shouters) founded by Bálak Singh, of Hazru, in the Ráwalpindi District, has been compiled from the reports furnished to the Inspector-General during the last four years, and is *confidentially* circulated for the information of Police Officers.

It is requested that this pamphlet may be preserved amongst other confidential records, and not sent into District Superintendents' offices.

The Inspector-General desires District Superintendents to continue to watch closely, but unobtrusively, this movement; and duly report to him any information worthy of note.

CENTRAL POLICE OFFICE,
LAHORE:
19th January 1867.

A Brief Account of the Kuka Sect.

THE Kuka sect of Jagiásís (or Habiásis) was originated by a Sikh named Bálak Singh, of the Arora caste, in the year 1847, in the district of Ráwalpindi. Bálak Sing lived at Hazru, and, after making a considerable number of converts, died in January 1863. His favorite disciples were three in number, Kanh Singh, now the head of the sect in Hazru; Lal Singh, now a resident of Amritsar; and Ram Singh, resident of Bhaini, in the Ludiánah district. This last disciple is now the acknowledged Guru and head of the sect, having been unanimously elected on the death of Bálak Sing.

Ram Singh comes of a poor family, being the son of a carpenter named Jassa Singh, who is still living, and who has throughout his life resided at Bhaini, following his trade. Ram Singh is about 50 years of age, and is described as a spare man, 5 feet 10 inches in height, with a fire complexion, pitted with small-pox, hazel eyes, long nose and face, grizzled

beard and moustache. Ram Singh reads and writes Gurmukhi, and is acquainted with the trades of carpenter and mason. In his early youth he assisted Jassa Singh in his calling; but in the year 1844 he took service under the Government of Maharajah Ranjít Singh as a sowar in Nao Nihal-Singh's regiment. On the taking of Lahore in 1846, Ram Singh quitted the Maharajah's army and resumed, at Bhaini, his occupation of carpenter. For the last ten years he has kept a kind of bania's shop, in which miscellaneous stores and iron are sold. It is related that about the year 1850, when in the employ of one Panjába, a well-known carpenter of Ludhiana, Ram Singh absconded with a large sum of money belonging to his employer, with which he started his shop at Bhaini in connection with a partner who, after a time, served him the same trick he had played his last master, and departed with all the cash belonging to the concern. It was after this untoward event that Ram Singh started for the Ráwalpindi district, where he made the acquaintance of Bálak Singh of Hazru, an Udási fakír, under whose spiritual instruction he placed himself. Bálak Singh initiated him into the tenets of the new sect, and urged him to preach them. He commenced proselytizing in the Ludhiána District about the year 1858, and assumed the title of "Bhai" or head of the brotherhood in 1860 (?)

All castes of Hindus and even Mahomedans may become Kukas. Major Perkins, District Superintendent of Police at Ludhiána, writes that converts are chiefly made from Jats, Tikháns, Chamárs and Mazabís; very few are obtained from and amongst Khatris, Brahmins, Banias; and he only knows of two Mahomedans who have embraced this faith. Mr. Kinchant, in June 1863, when in the Gurdáspur district, found that the following classes furnished most Kuka disciples, *viz.*, Thikhán, Lohár, Libání, Sámí, Bátí, Kalál, Jewára and the lower orders of the Jats. Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Amritsar, in a report dated 22nd September 1866, speaks of the Tikháns, Aroras and Jhathrars as castes amongst which the doctrines are gaining ground. Captain Parsons, then District Superintendent of Ambálah, also notices that converts are only obtained from the poorer classes.

As all the accounts received do not exactly agree regarding the tenets of Ram Sing's followers, it will be convenient to collect here all the information at present on record on this subject.

It appears that there is an esoteric division of the sect, to whom alone the duty of propagandism is entrusted; and from a report of Captain Tulloch, District Superintendent, Siálkot (dated the 10th November 1866), it seems that each newly enrolled disciple must proceed to Bhainí, where he receives the necklace of knotted wool which marks his creed.

In June 1863 Mr. Kinchant thus describes the Kuka articles of belief:—Govind Singh's Granth is the only true one, written by inspiration, and is the only sacred writing extant. Govind Singh is the only Guru. Any person, irrespective of caste or religion, can be admitted a convert. Sodís, Bedís, Mahants, Brahmins and such like are impostors, as none are Gurus except Govind Singh. Debidwáras, Shibdwáras and Mandars are a means of extortion, to be held in contempt and never visited. Idols and idol-worship are insulting to God, and will not

be forgiven. Converts are allowed to read Govind Singh's Granth, and no other book. At meetings both sexes cover their heads, and, singing portions of the Granth, work themselves up to a state of frenzy.

In the correspondence printed in 1863, the following is given as a summary of the Kuka's belief:—

"The leading features of the doctrine Ram Singh preaches are:—he abolishes all distinctions of caste among Sikhs; advocates indiscriminate intermarriage of all classes; enjoins the marriage of widows; all of which he performs himself; he never takes alms himself, and prohibits his followers from doing so; enjoins abstinence from liquor and drugs; but advocates much too free intercourse between the sexes; men and women rave together at his meetings; and thousands of women and young girls have joined his sect; he exhorts his disciples to be cleanly and truth-telling. One of his maxims says: 'it is well that every man carry his staff,' and they all do. The Granth is their only accepted inspired volume. The brotherhood may be known by the tie of their pagris, 'sídha pag,' by a watchword, and by a necklace of knots made in a white woollen cord to represent beads, and which are worn by all the community."

Further on in the printed memorandum it is recorded that a Brahmin named Maní Ram intended to adjure the sect on account of its immorality; but, as will be presently seen, other accounts affirm strict morality to be a distinguishing feature of the Kuka principles. One man (see page 15), who was initiated by Ram Singh himself, received a rosary, and was taught as a Gurmantar or mystic word simply the ejaculation "Wah Guru;' which he was to repeat constantly with his lips, but teeth closed. Ram Singh also gave him some unexceptionable advice as to his mode of life. Captain Wall, District Superintendent, Gujránwála, states, in 1866, that the secret sign of Kuka brotherhood is the ability to reply "Sat Akál Púrakh," to the ejaculation "Sat Sri Akál;" and the old Sikhs of Amritsar are reported by Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of that district, to compare this sect with the free-masons of Europe. The initiation verse is said by Mr. Kinchant to be—

Fist consent to death,
Give up the desire to live,
Become the dust of the earth,
Then come to me.

Major Perkins writes, in 1866, that, on initiation all vices are supposed to be foresworn, such as lying, stealing, drinking, adultery, &c., and are strictly forbidden. Kukas so offending are punished by a "pancháyat." At first Ram Singh alone exercised the power of proselytizing; but for the last two years the duty has been chiefly carried on by súbhas or lieutenants. Mention of these will be made further on. A sentence is whispered into the ear of the would-be disciple, which he is told to keep constantly repeating; and he is enjoined to provide himself with a rosary. The converts are ordered to bathe the entire body and wash the hair of their heads every morning at three o'clock; after bathing they are to pray, read aloud and repeat "Achloks" or selected verses of the Granth.

The Kukas are accustomed to meet together to read the Granth and "Chandí Pât;"* the assembly generally lasts some two or three days, and the following ceremonies are observed. First, two or three maunds of wood are collected and set fire to, then ghí, halwa, fruits, &c., are thrown on it to make the wood burn more slowly: the assembled Kukas sit around, whilst one reads the Granth and others repeat Achloks. After this has been going on for a time, some of the fraternity become so excited that they endeavour to throw themselves into the fire. However, by a wise precaution, certain men are invariably told off beforehand to prevent their more excitable brethren doing any harm to themselves!

The following are a few of the favorite Achlocks:

Marhí massítan dháhke kardeo maidán.	Throw down tombs and masjids, and make all level.
Pahle máro Pír Banoi, phir máro Sultána.	First annihilate (or throw down), Pir Banoi, after do the same for Sultana.†
Umat sabhí Muhammadi kháp jai maidána.	All the followers of the prophet will disappear at once.
Sunat koi nakársakka kamban Turkána.	Trembling Turks will not in future be able to circumcise.
Bhainí, satguru jâgia, aur jhut jahâna.	The true Guru has arisen in Bhainí; the rest of the world is full of lies.

One of the defendants in a recent case of destroying tombs in the Firozpur district, when denying his guilt, mentioned the following as the substance of his belief, and remarked that with such a creed how could he enter on unlawful acts. "Our religion enjoins abstinence from meat and stimulants, but we may take the latter medicinally; we are not to quarrel, steal, lie, fornicate, or behave treacherously. We do not respect shrines or tombs of ordinary men, only of celebrated persons. We are commanded to worship God and the Government whose revenue we pay."

The following circular, issued by Ram Singh in June 1863, which was given to Captain Menzies by a Mahant, affords some further knowledge of the sect:

"Ram Singh, in conjunction with his head followers, to all the Khalsa. Srí Wah Guru ji ke Khalsa; Srí Wah Guru ji ke Fatteh; To all Sikhs, to all villagers, to all women and children who visit the Diwán Darbár. Pay attention to all I have taught you, or

* The Chandí Pât is one of the many Hindoo religious books, and is written in praise of Chandí Debi. Hindús select their Shaloks (answering to the Punjábí Achloks) from it; but it appears strange that a book encouraging idolatry, and which is usually read with flowers in the hand of the reader to be placed after each verse on the idol, should be held in esteem by the Kukas. The Chandí Pât, however, promises physical strength as the reward of constant perusal of its pages, and this may commend it to the Kukas.

† Pír Banoi and Sultána are two places of pilgrimage, the former in Patiála and the latter towards Multán.

your faces will be blackened in both worlds. Whoever commits theft, adultery, etc., let him not come to the Darbár; and if he tries to force his way, pray to the Guru to stop him. Sing the Granth together and the praise of the Deity; be afraid of none; abuse no one. Your Guru watches over his followers and will aid them. I send you the names of those who have offended me, that they may be refused admittance into your houses. Whoever makes money by the marriage of his daughter is a rascal. Whoever commits infanticide or exchanges his daughter is equally so. Your children should be educated in the precepts of the Granth. Come without fail to the Diwálí."

From the reports received it appeared that Ram Singh first ordered and then countermanded a general meeting of his followers at the Amritsar Diwálí in 1866.

The following is a translation, by Mr. Christie, Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Amritsar, of a circular letter addressed by Ram Singh to his followers, a little before the last Diwálí:— "Under favor of the one true God. Written by Ram Singh and the Khalsa of Bhainí to all the Khalsa. The Khalsa is of the pure Great God. Victory be to the pure Great God. Be this accepted: an epistle of precepts for all the brethren is written from Bhainí. Rise in the last watch of the night and purify your mouth; then bathe; read the scriptures; if they are not known, then acquire them by rote, every one, old women and maidens 'Jup Jáp' complete, learn by rote. Raihras, Artesola,* this much be particular to learn. All practise virtue and continence. Worship the true God during the whole eight watches. Look upon the daughters and sisters of others as your own. Of other's rights, the Guru (Nának) has already written. 'Other's rights' Nának says, 'are pig to one and cow to the other.' Should any one enquire the secret of worship and not practise it, then his face will be blackened in both worlds. Let no one speak ill or harshly; be meek; bear ill or harsh sayings from all; if any strike you, even then be meek; your protector is God. Always hide your good deeds. Assemble often. Sing the scriptures daily. Should you wish to give a feast, purify the place, procure new vessels, enter the cooking place with washed feet, at the same time perform five acts of worship; purify the place for worship; in the ceremony use putâs or plum wood; do not blow the fire whilst worshipping it, (?) use a fan. Five persons at the worship read the scriptures, 'Chóupae, Jup, Jáp Chundechelutr' * Akâlústat"; a sixth person keep putting on the offering, a seventh to continue sprinkling the fire gently with water. If any one commits adultery or theft, then admit him nowhere in the meetings. Should he be powerful, then all pray that he may be disabled from coming. My knowledge is small; you can understand everything for yourselves. Let everyone put up their hands to God [praying]. Oh! Great ruler, may our faith continue. Wear jángiás; put them on one leg before removing them from the other. Do not cover the evil deeds of others. Let no one receive money in lieu of a daughter or a sister, or barter them. Continually repeat God, God (Guru

* Portions of the Granth or Sikh Scriptures. A very similar circular was intercepted at Gúrdáspúr in October 1863.

Guru). Do not eat flesh or drink spirits. Continue always in the fear of God."

Major Perkins states that a Kuka may not eat food prepared by outsiders, and in support of this assertion it may be added that some Kukas in the Fírozpúr lock-up declined to receive jail-cooked food.

Enquiries were made in 1863 to test the truth of the native rumour that the Kukas were accustomed to meet together and drill. The following is an extract from the papers collected at the time: "The question of their drilling at night, though frequently reported, seems still an open one. Diyal Singh, Lambardar, and Wazira, late chawkidar, of Mutadah, in Jalandhar (a village entirely converted by Ram Singh), state that drill often takes place a little way from the village; and that Sergeant Bahál Singh, of the Hushiárpúr Police, with one or two discharged sepoys, instruct them. Bahál Singh frankly admits that Ram Singh is and has been his Guru for many years; that when on leave he goes to visit him, joins in their ceremonies, one of which is for the whole assembly to stand up in line and repeat some verses in a loud tone before separating for the night, and which might possibly have been taken for drill by the uninitiated."

No fresh reports of Kukas assembling for drill have since been received.

The foregoing accounts of the sect have shown it to be a movement of religious reform amongst the Sikhs. Concurrent testimony proves that the Kukas make themselves unpopular alike to Mahomedans and Hindus. The following notes, however, take a more serious view of Ram Singh's ulterior objects. They are based chiefly on information collected by a man named Gaindah Singh, who appears deeply impressed with the political import of the Kuka faith :—

Manní Ram, Brahmin of Jálandhar, a convert to Ram Singh, but about to give him up again, his doctrines leading to immorality, states that he has been at several of his meetings, but never saw any drilling; and that the circumstance of their invariably standing up in line to go through some ceremonies before separating, must have led to the idea of their drilling. He asserts, however, that Ram Singh is certainly gifted with the powers of magic, which sends people into fits; he states he has seen above a thousand people affected in this way. In common with all other Sikhs, doubtless, Ram Singh wishes their rule back again, but he does not preach this; considers him unquestionably a prophet, and believes his preaching to be entirely of a religious nature.

Again Gaindah Singh, a Sikh informer, was sent by the Cantonment Magistrate, Jálandhar, to Ram Singh's village. The Guru himself was absent, but Sahib Singh, his lieutenant, was there. He expressed a desire to become a convert and joined their party, which, at night, amounted to about 50 men. The "dhol" was sounded and every one got a stick from Sahib Singh, who then proceeded to drill the party for about two hours, and all shouted "Akâl, Akâl." Gaindah Singh then expressing a desire to see the Guru himself, his disciple told him where to find him, and gave him two papers for Ram Singh. These he never delivered, pretended to have lost

them, and on return to Jálandhar made them over to the Cantonment Magistrate. The following are rough translations of the documents :—

No. I.—" Salutation. The Sahi of Guru Govind Singh. I, Guru Govind Singh, will be born in a carpenter's shop, and will be called Ram Singh. My house will be between the Jamna and Satlej Rivers. I will declare my religion. I will defeat the Faringhí, and put the crown on my own head, and blow the sankh. The musicians shall praise me in 1921 (1864). I, the carpenter, will sit on the throne. When I have got one lakh and twenty-five thousand Sikhs with me, I will cut off the heads of the Faringhís. I will never be conquered in battle, and will shout 'Akâl, Akâl'. The Christians will desert their wives and fly from the country when they hear the shout of 1¼ lakhs of Khalsas. A great battle will take place on the banks of the Jamna, and blood will flow like the waters of the Rávi, and no Faringhí be left alive. Insurrections will take place in the country in 1922 (1865). The Khalsa will reign, and the Rajah and ryot will live in peace and comfort, and no one shall molest another.

"Day by day Ram Singh's rule will be enlarged. God has written this. It is no lie, my brethren. In 1865 the whole country will be ruled by Ram Singh. My followers will worship Bhagrao. God says this will happen."

No. II.—" Salutation. Read the enclosed (*i. e.*, the above) to all Sikhs. It is the request of the Sikhs here. Send news of your whereabouts. We wish to see you here. You have been absent a long time ; come in this direction quickly. We cannot remain apart from you so long."

It was then resolved to send the following men in disguise to test the truth of the informer's story :—

1. * * * *	Men of good position and high respectability, but whose names are, for obvious reasons, omitted.
2. * * * *	
3. * * * *	
4. * * * *	The informer.

On reaching Ludiánah it was found that the only men who could assume anything like a practicable disguise were No. 1 and the informer. These two accordingly visited Ram Singh, and though he was very suspicious, being now under strict police surveillance, yet he did not distrust them, as he had seen the informer before, and No. 1 was now introduced as his brother. They remained two days with him, and he treated them very kindly. On the first night he initiated them, and gave them a rosary or necklace made of wool. He had only one by him, but said a large supply was coming. The Gurmantar or mystic word he taught them was simply "Wah Guru!" which they were to repeat constantly with their lips, but teeth closed. He gave them some unexceptionable advice as to their mode of life. They were perfectly orderly and quiet. One night, however, he said that his disciples had been molested in Amritsar, Fírozpúr and other places, but that *one* of his followers (being under Divine protection) was equal to 100 other men, European soldiers included ; that on one occasion three Europeans

actually came to his house or tent at Amritsar, and that if they had arrested him, his followers would have forthwith killed them. He had plenty of disciples in the Amritsar Police, who, had he chosen, would in half an hour have rid the place of every European in it,—but the time had not yet come. No drill took place in their presence, but they heard from the disciples that it did take place regularly, under the Guru's lieutenant, Sahib Singh, who was then absent at Ludiánah.

On another occasion he told them that the English reign would soon cease ; that "its roots had not struck very deep."

His disciples actually believed him to be Guru Govind Singh, risen from the dead again, and that he could foresee and foretell everything, and that he actually had foretold the fall of the Sikh raj. One day he told them that a Mahant from Narowal (in the Amritsar district) had informed him for certain that cartridges, prepared in the same way as in 1857, were again about to be distributed, and caps also filled with the same obnoxious stuff. Ram Singh has two lieutenants at his home with him, Sahib Singh and Jowahir Singh. The former is a sharp, shrewd fellow, and the drill instructor of the neighbourhood ; the latter is merely a raving fanatic. Ram Singh is himself armed with a hatchet, all the others with sticks. No. 1 states that from what passed before him between his companion (the informer) and Ram Singh, he has no doubt that Sahib Singh did actually give Gaindah Singh the letters for Ram Singh, translations of which have been given above ; and indeed when they met Sahib Singh on their way home, he acknowledged as much in conversation with his companion. Nothing could be ascertained as to arms, but Ram Singh told them that when they were wanted they would be forthcoming.

They ascertained that the Guru intended visiting Amritsar in great state at the Diwálí, and that his disciples, who were to assemble in great force there, evidently placed the most implicit confidence and obedience in their leader, and were quite ready to lay down their lives for him.

What has been related as reported by Gaindah Singh in the foregoing paragraphs was collected in 1863 ; that he still adheres to the view he then took will be perceived on perusal of the subjoined information received in September 1866 :—

"On arrival at Bhaini I met, amongst others, one Bhagat Singh of Ludiánah, who was a news-carrier of Ram Singh. Ram Singh has nightly interviews with Guru Govind Singh. It is the order for each of the Kukas to have a good strong axe. They are ready for a disturbance, and have petitioned Ram Singh for orders, who replied he would give them before the Diwálí. In event of Ram Singh's death, Sahib Singh (a súbha or lieutenant) is to succeed him. Some Rámdásias of Ludiánah, whose ancestors had beaten the kettle-drum (nakâreh) before Govind Singh's followers, asked for the same office with the Kukas. Mehtab Singh, son-in-law of Ram Singh, visits frequently the súbha for the Jálandhar Doab (Kanh Singh*). Mangal Singh, Jagirdar of Raipur

* Both Captain Menzies and Lieutenant Ramsay mention this man. When the former wrote, he was at Kartárpúr in Jálandhar, and when the latter made his report at Durfapúr in the Rahún thana of the same district.

(Ludiánah), is one who has promised assistance in event of a rising. Rám Singh regards the arms* of all the Sikhs in the British service as his own, and considers it certain we shall have a revolt if Sahib Singh becomes head of the sect. The Kukas are very enthusiastic, and are willing to obey Ram Singh implicitly."

Before proceeding to give the names of the leading members of the Kuka religion, it appears just to place in juxtaposition with the above report the accounts received of their conduct at the last Diwálí in November 1866.

Captain Menzies says that the Kuka disciples are orderly, obedient to the powers that be, live frugally, and act up to the tenets of their faith. So far from there being any disturbance at Amritsar, Rúr Singh, the leading Kuka present at the Diwálí, waited on Captain Menzies and solicited instructions for the guidance of his followers, who, acting upon the advice received, behaved in a most orderly manner, though perhaps they had cause for complaint, as the offerings they made were received at the Darbár, but refused at the Bábá Atal shrine.

It has been before mentioned that the Kuka faith is unpopular. In 1863 there was a Kuka gathering at Mahalpúr, in the Gúrdáspúr district; Rám Singh did not attend, but was represented by two Gurbháies, Sudh Singh and Kánh Singh, the former of Bhainí, Ludiánah, the latter of Malot, in the Gurdáspur district. Sundar Singh, Bhagwán Singh, and Híra Singh, of Mahalpur, were to feast the Kukas, who perhaps numbered eighty persons; but the villagers drove them empty away, and would not even suffer them to draw water.

The reports from all sources agree that Kukas are enjoined to wear a rosary, short drawers,† a straight or untwisted pagri, and to carry a stick. Several officers (Lieutenant McNeile, Siálkot—Captain Bond, Jhelam—Major Perkins, Ludiánah,) report that each Kuka is ordered to carry a small knife in his pagri. The ones noticed by Major Perkins were blunt and perfectly useless, whilst Captain Bond's informer describes them as "kûndas" or spear points. Captain Menzies, of Amritsar, on the contrary, states they have not a pen-knife between them. Both Major Perkins and Captain Wall have heard of the order for each disciple to carry an axe, but they have not yet ascertained whether it has been thoroughly carried out.

The Kukas, or as they are sometimes called the "Sant Khalsa" (Khalsa saints), have a private post of their own, which appears to be admirably organized. Confidential orders are circulated much in the same way as the fiery cross was carried through a Highland clan in Scottish bygone days. A Kuka, on the arrival at his village of another of the same sect with a despatch, *at once* leaves off whatever work

* NOTE.—Gaindah Singh's reports about the drilling of the Kukas have not been corroborated.

† It is perhaps noteworthy that all orthodox Sikhs wear the "katch" or short drawers, equivalent to the Hindústání term jángiás. Sikhs very generally carry small axes to cut fire-wood with; and hardly a Sikh sepoy leaves his regiment on furlough without one. The knife may be instead of the iron bracelet usually worn by Sikhs.

he may be engaged upon : if in the midst of a repast, not another morsel is eaten; he asks no questions, but, taking the missive, starts off at a run and conveys it to the next relief or to its destination. Important communications are sent verbally, and are not committed to writing. In carrying messages, they are said by Major Perkins to make great detours, to avoid the Grand Trunk Road. There can be little doubt that, though this machinery has been introduced to work a religious reform, yet in the hands of designing and unscrupulous men it can easily be made an engine of political danger. Reports have reached Major Perkins that the Kukas openly talk of being masters of the country, at some time when all in the land will profess the new faith. In every creed enthusiasts exist, and as Rám Singh's followers have conducted themselves in an orderly manner, and shown forbearance under provocation, the sayings of a few of the more fanatical amongst the sect cannot in justice be taken as a correct index of the state of feeling pervading the minds of the majority.

The Kukas have no respect for tombs, temples, or shrines; they are also iconoclasts. They reverence the temple of the Darbár at Amritsar as being the depository of the Granth, and perhaps owing to the city being the capital and centre of the Sikh religion. The Punjárís, Brahmins, and other spiritual persons who live by the votive offerings they receive from orthodox Hindus, are naturally the bitterest enemies of the new sect, as the spread of its tenets would deprive them of their marriage fees, and other gains and exactions.

It has been mentioned that the conduct of Rám Sing's followers has, on the whole, been orderly; the only offences which they have as yet been guilty of, as a sect, have been the destruction of tombs, idols, &c. The following is a list of the cases which have been reported up to the present time (January 1867).

Fírozpúr.—Some tombs lying between the boundaries of the villages of Chach Bhái and Chuta Burshu were destroyed about the 1st September 1866, by Waráin Singh, Fatteh Singh and Jaimal Singh, Kukas. One of the tombs had been erected to the memory of one Sangúr Singh, a man held in reverence by the neighbouring villages. The three Kukas were found guilty by the Magistrate and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with a fine of Rs. 20 each, or, in default of payment of fine, six months more. The plaintiffs, it is noteworthy, wished to compromise the case.

Mr. Haslett, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Sirsa, was informed, on 20th October 1866, by a Lambardár named Sobha Singh, that Malúk Sing, a Kuka Guru, had been apprehended in Fírozpur for destroying tombs. He further mentioned that an attempt was made by the sect to destroy the tomb of Rattoa Bábá at Bhatinda, in Patiála, but it was frustrated. Sobha Singh considered a disturbance was imminent at either Talwandi, Mukatsar or Amritsar. The destruction of tombs mentioned by Sobha Singh did not really take place; nor was Malúk Singh arrested, but there was a report of this nature from the Mukatsar sub-division. After personal local enquiry, the District Superintendent (as reported in his No. 620, of 19th December 1866, to Deputy Inspector-General, Lahore) was of opinion that the damage done

was of so slight a nature that it was impossible to pronounce whether it was the work of men or animals. There were no complainants; in fact the injury was so small that a prosecution was not desired. The tombs being situated at spots remote from human abode, no evidence was obtainable on the subject.

In *Ludiánah*—the cases of destruction of tombs were of a somewhat similar type. The Kukas appear not to have selected any burial-places of reputed sanctity, but to have just destroyed a few of the small graves which are to be found outside every village. Two cases were successfully prosecuted. One at Gujrána, which occurred on the 7th July last. The defendants, Atar Singh, Charat Singh, Sohail Singh, Lál Singh and Sewah Singh were each sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment, and Rs. 5 fine. The second case happened at Rúrkah on the 12th December 1866, in which Bír Singh, Charat Singh, Utam Singh and Jewah were convicted and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 15 each. It is extremely difficult to bring home these cases to the parties implicated, as the mischief is usually done in the night, and most of the villages are several miles distant from the Imperial Police stations.

At *Siálkot*—some tombs were reported to have been destroyed at the village of Subhána. The evidence was insufficient to bring the offence home to a party of Kukas who were strongly suspected. The Deputy Commissioner warned and discharged them. On the 5th of January a party of three Kukas were apprehended for damaging graves at Chowindah; the result of the prosecution has not yet been received.

In the *Gujránwála* district—though several cases have been reported, reliable evidence appears only to have been obtained in one which occurred in the village of Badok, in December. Four men, residents of Bhúka Chíma, were supposed to be concerned; out of these, two were recognized and sent up for trial.

From *Hoshiárpúr*— it was reported that a party of Kukas, 13 in number, led by Súdh Singh, entered the district and destroyed some Hindú images in a temple at Ganhári. At Núr Jamál a Mahomedan tomb was destroyed, and some of the party were seen astride the image of a cow in front of a Hindú temple. These profane riders called upon the cow to prove itself a God by walking! The men were sent up for trial and convicted by the Assistant Commissioner as vagrants.

The following notes regarding the number of converts in different districts have been extracted from our records :—

In June 1863, Rám Singh held meetings in the Fírozpúr district, when he prophesied the number of his followers would speedily reach 1¼ lakhs of armed men.

Captain Menzies reported, on the 31st May 1863, that Inspector Naráin Singh, in conversation with Lál Singh, the third chosen disciple of Rám Singh, had elicited the information that the Kukas then numbered 40,000 able-bodied men.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tronson reported, on the 29th November 1866, that there were few, if any, Kukas in the districts comprised within his circle, (Multán, Muzaffargarh, Montgomery and Jhang). The District Superintendent of Montgomery thought it probable there were a few members of this sect in the parts of his district adjoining Fírozpúr, in the direction of Atárí.

Mr. Kinchant, in a paper, dated the 4th October 1866, puts the number of Kukas in Gurdáspúr down at 100.

In Fírozpúr, on the 27th October 1866, Lieutenant Wimberly estimates the number of Kukas at 1,000.

Captain Tulloch reports, on the 27th October 1866, that the sect in his district (Siálkot) do not muster more than 200, but adds that 80,000 necklaces have been given away by Rám Singh to a like number of admitted disciples. In 1863, the Native Inspector thought the sect numbered 300, whilst Lieutenant McNeile considered 3,000 nearer the mark.

Captain Wall, writing on the 22nd September 1866, says, the Kukas in Gujránwála may number 2,000.

Major Perkins, under date the 20th September, considers 60,000 to be an outside estimate of the total number of Kuka converts, of whom about 2,000 are in Ludiánah.

Material is wanting for any accurate measure of the number of Rám Singh's followers, and little reliance can be placed on the figures collected. We possess no accurate census of the population of the Punjáb, and the reasons which have hitherto hindered its being taken, apply with still greater force to an attempt to obtain an accurate statement of the numbers of a new religious sect.

The bulk of Rám Singh's proselytes have been obtained amongst the poorer classes, but a few Sardárs and people of note have joined the sect. Native rumours from several quarters have reached this office that the Máhárájah of Patiála has been converted, but whether this be true or false, there can be no doubt that his uncle, Sardár Mangal Singh, of Bishanpúra, is one of their leaders, and is reported to have political objects in view. Sardár Mangal Singh is related to the Rájahs of Dholpúr and Bhartpúr, and is known by the fraternity as the "General." A Patiála Jagírdár, named Lakkha Sing, of Bharmahpúr, is another of the leading disciples. Before proceeding to give the names of Rám Singh's principal followers, it may be convenient to mention that, in 1863, an idea was generally prevalent that Rám Singh derived his power, success and spiritual authority (for his disciples implicitly obey and trust him) from a sacred copy of Govind Singh's Granth, which is supposed to contain a prophesy that, in these latter days, a great Sikh reformer, of the carpenter class, named Rám Singh, should arise. One story is to the effect that Rám Singh stole the Granth from his old pastor, Bálak Singh; another, that the book was purchased by the Máhárájah of Patiála, through whom Rám Singh must have obtained it; but this last version seems improbable, and needs the support of further evidence.

The following are the names of some of Rám Singh's leading disciples; they are arranged, for ready reference, under the districts to which they belong:—

LUDIANAH.

Rám Singh, of Bhainí—leader of the sect.

Jassa Singh, ditto, Rám Singh's father.

Sudh Singh, ditto, an authorized propagandist (Mr. Kinchant).

Sahib Singh, with Rám Singh, an authorized propagandist, to be Rám Singh's successor (Captain Menzies and Lieut. Ramsay).

Bhagat Singh, of Ludiánah, a letter-carrier (Lieut. Ramsay).

AMBALAH.

Kanh Singh,* Bhagan Singh, } of Ambálah.

Gurdat Singh of Banud.

Bikram, of Anundpur.

Jat Singh, Sher Singh, Nihál Singh, Shaman Singh, } of Derah Bassí.

U'tam Singh, of Chinár Majra.

Kanh Singh, Mehtáb Singh, } of Ambálah.

Jat Singh, of Banud.

AMRITSAR.

Naráin Singh—mentioned as súbha for the Malwa by Captain Millett; also as propagandist for the same by Captain Menzies.

Sahib Singh—mentioned by Captain Millett as a súbha for the Malwa; and also by Major McAndrew as having recently visited Rám Singh, and being one of his chief lieutenants.

Jowáhir Singh, a propagandist for the Malwa (Captain Menzies).

Rur Singh, a leading disciple, called on Captain Menzies to take his orders for the Diwáli arrangements in 1866.

Akálí Singh, *alias* Harsa Singh, late a disciple of the Guru Rám Dás. (This man is mentioned by Captain Moseley as a Kuka, but the proof is not conclusive.)

Basáwa Singh, Rámdás Baksh, Dyál Singh, } of Amritsar.

Dasodar Singh, Suchet Singh, Natha Singh, } of Rurkeh.

Nihál Singh, of Ogíke.

Sohale Singh, Gopál Singh, Kirpál Singh, } of Garanthgarh.

Dewa Singh, Gharíb Singh, Chanda Singh, Jodar Singh, Shám Singh, Jíwan Singh, Hari Singh, Sudh Singh, Lakha, Lehna Singh, } of Amritsar.

Chanda Singh, Kála Singh, } of Fattehwál.

Lál Singh, Balu Singh, } of Bandarchak.

Sukha Singh, Ganda Singh, } of Chuk Ugáwan.

Gopál Singh, Nihál Singh, Naráin Singh, (see note above), } of La Mehra.

U'tam Singh, Basáwa Singh, } of Amritsar.

Lál Singh, of Bainsowál.

Khazán Singh, of Amritsar.

Jaimal Singh, Jowáhir Singh, (see note above), } of Malowál.

Mula Singh, of Sháhderah.
Sahib Singh, of Amritsar. (see notes above).
Khushál Singh, of Nangal.
Fatteh Singh, of Galola.
Bhúp Singh, Budh Singh, Nihál Singh, of Kánah Kachna.
Lál Singh, Rávi Pár.
Jowáhir Singh, Sahib Singh, of Dariyána.
Nihál Singh, of Kot.
Guláb Singh, of Beyah.
Guláb Singh, of Amritsar.
Basáwa Singh, of Míánwál.

FIROZPUR.

Naráin Singh, of Mukatsar, one of the leading disciples (Captain Menzies).
Sobha Singh, propagandist for the Mánjha—(Captain Menzies).
Warián Singh, Fatteh Singh, and Jaimal Singh, Kukas, convicted of destroying tombs (Lieut. Wimberly).
Mallúk Singh, a leading man (noted by Major Perkins and Mr. Haslett), Lambardár of Phollazwálla, (Lieutenant Wimberly).
U'tum Singh, of Takhtapur.
Sahib Singh, of Manuke.
Jíta Singh, Gurmuck Singh, Malúk Singh, Natha Singh, of Billáspur.
Búta Singh, Bahál Singh, Samand Singh, Ratan Singh, Samand Singh, Sevah Singh, of Kheri.
Jai Sing, of Kuliya.
Dhyán Singh, Mosaddar Singh, Nand Singh, Hira Singh, Atar Singh, of Takhtapur.
Naráin Singh, of Sikhewál.
Jíwan Singh, of Mukatsar.
Samand Singh, Samanda Singh, Atar Singh, Kishn Singh, of Kuliya.
Sohail Singh, of Sydoke.
Jodh Singh, Nihál Singh, of Fírozpur.
Jodh Singh, of Mehráj.
Karm Singh, of Sydoke.
Duna Singh, Motí Ram, of Rampur.
Hari Singh, of Patoke.
Bela Singh, of Takhtapur.

GURDASPUR.

Bál Singh, a Sergeant in the Police.
Kanh Singh, of Malot.
Prem Singh, of Ambotah, a brother of Bálak Singh, the original founder (locality of Ambotah not ascertained).
Mr. Kinchant mentions the above three men as authorized propagandists.
Sudar Singh, Mahalpur, (Mr. Kinchant).
Bhagwán Singh, " "
Híra Singh. " "
Nahang Singh, a leading man (Captain Menzies).

JALANDHAR.

Kanh Singh, a leading propagandist. Captain Menzies heard of him as being at Kartárpur, Major Perkins and Lieutenant Ramsay state he lives at Durgapur, Thanah Ráhon.
Rúr Singh, mentioned by Captain Millett as a súbha for the Jálandhar Doáb.
Dhyán Singh, Sudh Singh, of Bílleh.
Khazán Singh, Lakha Singh, Dyál Singh, Wazír Singh, Sohail Singh, Sher Singh, Hardat Singh, Basáwa Singh, of Mothaddeh.

Dittu, Fakíriya, Mankal Singh, of Dholní.
Mosadda Singh, Majja Singh, of Durgapur.
Nihál Singh, of Mothaddeh.
Kála Singh, of Khoer.
U'tam Singh, of Takhtapur.
Sada Singh, Sahib Singh, Kanh Singh, of Durgapur.
Shám Singh, A'lla Singh, Bhola Singh, Sewa Singh, Mehtáb Singh, of Phillaur.
Panjáb Singh, of Biláspur.
Natha Singh, of Dholní.
Nihál Singh, of Durgapur.
Híra Singh, Sher Singh, Sher Singh, of Dholní.
Híra Singh, Jowáhir Singh, of Durgapur.
Haria Singh, of Karna.
Prem Singh, of Jálandhar.
Atar Singh, Fatteh Singh, Nihál Singh, Bír Singh, Budh Singh, Jaimal Singh, of Durgapur, examined by Mr. Elliott.
Kanh Singh, Nihál Singh, Dyál Singh, of Mothaddeh.
Jíwun Singh, of Phillaur.
Fatteh Singh, Ganda Singh, of Mothaddeh.
Bhagwán Singh, Dewa Singh, Dasondah Singh, of Nawashahar.
Prem Singh, Rám Singh, of Phulwárián.
Dasondah Singh, of Mothaddeh.

HOSHIARPUR.

Sudh Singh, convicted of damaging idols, said by Lieut. Scott to be the headman of the sect in the district.

Sardár Bhág Singh, of Púsí, who is suspected of being a Kuka; he denies it; went surety for Sudh Singh and his party.

SIALKOT.

Jamaiyat Singh, Lambardár, of Gil, mentioned by Lieutenant McNeile as a leading Kuka, and again very recently by Captain Wall as a propagandist.
Jíwan Singh, of Kilah Sobhá Singh, a propagandist (Captain Tulloch).
Nihál Singh, Lehna Singh, of Kilah Sobhá Singh.
Hukma Singh, Ganga Singh, of Lakhiyána.
Dasodar Singh, of Gil.
Sukha Singh, of Inghar.
Ganga Singh, of Derah.
Mula Singh, Jowála Singh, of Mánukewál.
Basáwa Singh, Rúr Singh, Kanh Singh, of Kilah Sobhá Singh.

RAWALPINDI.

Kanha, a súbha, living at Hazru, mentioned, in 1863, by Captain Millett. Captain Menzies notes a Kanh Singh, of Hazru, as a leading propagandist. Captain Millett says Kanha has two *aliases*, Kanh Singh and Baba Chackránwála; he is doubtless identical with the man named by Captain Menzies. He is stated to have considerable influence.
Rám Kishn, Hari Singh, of Hazru.

GUJRANWALA.

Jota or Jhota Singh, mentioned by Captain Wall and Mr. Bruere as a chief disciple; by Captain Menzies as the propagandist for the districts Trans-Rávi. He

was accused of damaging shrines, &c. His home is at Tapaya, Pasrúr.

Brahma Singh, a Trans-Rávi propagandist (Capt. Menzies).

GUJRANWALA TOWN.

Jowáhir Singh,	Sahukár.
Mehtáb Singh,	"
Atar Singh,	"
Kanh Singh,	"
Karam Singh,	Shop-keeper.
Sant Singh,	"
Ganda Singh,	"
Tára Singh,	"
Amír Singh,	"
Khewan Singh,	"
Suchet Singh,	"
Chanda Singh,	Jhabran.
Dula Singh,	"
Dal Singh,	"
Jíwan Singh,	"
Harsa Singh,	"
Phúla Singh,	Ratála.
Ganda Singh,	"
Híra Singh,	"
Dal Singh,	"
Mul Singh,	"
Bágh Singh,	"
Lál Singh,	Bhuka Chíma.
Thákur Singh,	"
Kishn Singh,	"
Kanh Singh,	"
Rám Singh,	"
Ganda Singh,	"
Rúpa Singh,	"
Nihál Singh,	Malka.
Gurmach Singh,	"

Captain Wall reports that the men above named are the local "centres" for his district, and that each has from 10 to 20 followers.

Gúrmuch Singh, Maingal, Híra Singh, } of Maha.

MALER KOTLA.

Dhanna Singh, Atar Singh, } of Chak.

JIND.

Jai Singh, of Paddí.

PATIALA.

Bhagwán Singh, Jodh Singh, } of Behleh.
Atar Singh, Naranjan Singh, Naráin Singh, } of Nangal.
Dhiyán Singh, Rám Singh, Búdh Singh, } of Kalmom.
Lakha Singh, of Súkhípúra.
Dyál Singh, of Khánpúr.
Prem Singh, of Fattehgarh.
Harí Singh, of Mukatsar.
Bhagwán Singh, of Bamtar.
Jowáhir Singh, of Bhotení.
Dyál Singh, of Bathinda.
Natha Singh, Sudh Singh, Dhyán Singh, Dyál Singh, Dharm Singh, Giyán Singh, Máha Singh, Sarúp Singh, } of Bhagí.
Harnám Singh, of Rasúlpúr.
Harnám Singh, of Patiála.
Harnám Singh, of Múlapúr.
Khark Singh, of Sehlon.
Dyah Singh, of Chintawála.
Sangat Singh, of Patoke.
Teja Singh, Harnám Singh, } of Rámpúr.
Mehtáb Singh, of Mán.
Chanda Singh, of Bhadaur.
U'tam Singh, of Mániwála.
Dewa Singh, of Nalu.

NABHA.

Dalla Singh, Kanh Singh, Máha Singh, Wariám Singh, } of Patoke.

KAPURTHALA.

Kanh Singh, of Nul.

An Abstract of the Reports received by the Inspector-General of Police, Punjáb, regarding the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1867. [Selected Papers, No. XV.]

Memo.

The following confidential letter and despatch are published for the information of Police Officers :—

No. 1058, dated 15th July 1867, from Secretary to Government, Punjáb, to Inspector-General of Police, Punjáb.

With reference to Major Hutchinson's No. 33, of 21st January last, and enclosures, forwards, for information and guidance, copy of a despatch from the Government of India, with enclosure from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, directing that Rám Singh, Kuka, and his associates, be quietly but very narrowly watched.

No. 662, dated 6th July 1867, from Under-Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, to Secretary to Government, Punjáb.

With reference to your letter No. 157-54, dated 2nd February 1867, submitting a report on the Kuka sect and their leader, Rám Singh, of Bhainí, I am directed to forward, for the information and guidance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the enclosed copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 97, dated the 31st May last.

Despatch No. 97, dated 31st May 1867, from the Right Hon'ble the Secy. of State for India, to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

1. I have perused with interest and attention the report on the new Sikh sect of Kukas, which has been laid before me in Council, as an enclosure to your Excellency's letter in the Foreign Department, No. 49, of the 4th March last.

2. This report, which you have forwarded without remark, appears to shew that the Kukas have ulterior political objects of a dangerous character; and while I do not at present see reason to urge on your Government any active interference with the proceedings of Rám Singh and his associates, I must express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these persons may be quietly but very narrowly watched.

No. 11-183, dated 20th January 1868, from Inspector-General of Police, Punjáb, to Secretary to Government, Punjáb.

I have the honor to forward, for the information of Government, 30 copies of a resumé of the correspondence which passed in my office during the year 1867, regarding the Kuka sect.

2. Though I am of opinion that no restraint need yet be placed on the movements of Rám Singh, yet I consider that his proceedings and those of his lieutenants require to be closely and constantly watched.

3. This sect must be looked on for some time to come as a possible source of great danger, though the present aspirations and aims of its leader appear peaceful, inasmuch as a large religious federation in all the enthusiasm of its early days and fresh faith may be much more easily used for purposes

prejudicial to our rule, than any of the older and less cohesive religious societies, which lack the same vigorous energy and life.

4. It is not possible to form a correct estimate of the present numbers of the Kuka fraternity.

For facility of reference the different reports received in this office during the year regarding the Kuka sect have been abstracted, and are printed in the following pages for confidential circulation.

It is requested that any noteworthy information regarding Rám Singh's movements may be reported (in the form, Weekly No. III.), to the Central Police Office.

Abstract.

In January last a compilation* of all the particulars regarding the Kuka sect, then available in this office, was made and circulated; it appears convenient to publish, for the information of the officers of Government, the following resumé of the reports received since then.

* See No. XII. of Selected Cases.

To facilitate reference, the history of the sect during the past year is classified under the following general heads:

I. The progress of the sect in proselytism.

II. Offences against the law committed by Kukas from religious zeal.

III. Meetings and large assemblies attended by Kukas, with a brief account of the principal ones.

I.—The progress of the sect in proselytism.

Reports from all quarters show that the number of Rám Singh's disciples is on the increase. In Ambálah Captain Harris, District Superintendent of Police, noticed that, prior to 1866, there were few Kukas in the district, but that the tenets of the new faith had largely gained credence of late in the purgunnahs of Ambálah and Ladhowa, where now might be found some 15 villages composed almost entirely of believers in Rám Singh's creed. The population of these villages he estimated at 4,000, consisting principally of the lower castes, such as Rámdásiás, Tirkháns, Lohárs and Jâts. Sudh Singh and Kânh Singh seem to be the súbhas usually deputed to Ambálah, but, when Captain Harris wrote, Rám Singh had no regular lieutenant appointed to the locality. The district meetings were small, and the zeal of the faithful was kept alive by the presence of a few houseless fanatics who have joined the sect. There were but seven Kukas in the Police. The influential and respectable natives of the district, whose views were taken concerning the movement, consider that the motives of the sect are as yet purely religious.

In January 1867, Captain Wall reported a rumour had reached him of the conversion of Sirdár Shamsher Singh, of Rája-Sánsi, in the Amritsar district, the head of the once powerful Sindhiáwála family. On inquiry it appeared that there was no foundation for the story,

though it is probable Rám Singh endeavoured to gain over the Sirdár, who declined to adhere to a creed which would necessitate his abstinence from flesh and wine.

About the same time a communication was received from Major Mercer, Deputy Commissioner of Siálkot, giving the result of his inquiries, and stating his opinion that the movement was a purely religious one.

In February Captain Baillie brought to notice the fact that he had received credible information that a native gentleman of some note in Cábul, by name Abdul Razák, had sent his two sons on a mission to Bhainí, it is supposed, to learn Rám Singh's doctrines. It was not found possible to elicit any particulars regarding this journey, though it would have been interesting to know how the fame of the village carpenter had reached so far.

It may perhaps be noticed under this head that the Kukas seem to regard with veneration the ordinary Hindu festivals. As an instance in point, the Kukas of Shekhwán, in the Lahore district, celebrated the Hindu gathering of the Basant Panchmî.*

The tenets of the sect were described at length in the former pamphlet; but the following opinions, gathered from the native officers of one of our frontier regiments, are useful as depicting the estimation in which the sect is held.

They all seem to have a great respect for the tenets of the sect, and agree that it is an effort to restore the Sikh religion to its original purity, and to do away with the innovations which have crept into it, such as consulting Brahmins as to the proper day for marriages, &c. From what they say, the belief of the sect appears to be a pure deism. They hold that God is one, not made or born, but existing by himself; and they appear to hold in utter reprobation the Hindu belief of various incarnations of the deity. They inculcate a very strict morality, condemning most strongly lying, theft and adultery; and appear anxious merely to revive the Sikh religion in its original state of purity, and to eradicate the errors which have, from time to time, defiled it. All with whom I have conversed on the subject laugh at the idea of the movement having any political significance, and regard it simply as a religious one. There is no doubt that all Sikhs, and the Kukas among them, would be glad to see their own rule re-established; but I do not think that any danger is to be apprehended from the spread of this sect, further than the well-known fact that in any disturbance, very strict religionists, or fanatics of any denomination, are apt to let their passions carry them away, and to be more desperate than those who are more careless in their religious views. As a proof of this I may mention the state of ecstasy into which the disciples of this sect fall, and which all the Sikhs with whom I have conversed on the subject attribute to great mental excitement. I believe that the sect is extending its limits rapidly; but that it has not yet acquired a great head in the Trans-Sutlej States may, I think, be gathered from the fact that among some 270 Sikhs enlisted from most classes in those provinces, we have only one Kuka. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the

* The Basant Panchmí is a fair which is held in the month of February, to celebrate the change of the weather and to rejoice that the season in which out-of-door recreation may be enjoyed has arrived.—*C. P. O.*

majority of the members of this sect are men of low caste*, from amongst whom we do not recruit; but still I think this is enough to prove that it is not a popular movement, although all our Sikhs agree that the tenets are excellent, and in strict accordance with the rules of the Sikh religion. I have often asked Sikhs how it is that they, believing as they do that there is only one God, can put any faith in and render any obedience to Brahmins who acknowledge a large number of deities, and their answer has in every case been the same,—'That they do not themselves believe in them, but their women do, and to please them they are obliged to pay attention to what the Brahmins say.'

From Gujránwála, Siálkot and Lahore several reports have been received testifying to the spread of Rám Singh's doctrines.

Major Bamfield, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambálah Circle, has observed that the strict tone of morality, which, in the first years of the sect was such an encouraging feature in the tenets of Rám Singh's disciples, is gradually becoming lowered. The new converts, he learns, practise thieving and other vices without reprobation, and are not excommunicated as they would have been a short time back. From this he thinks Rám Singh wishes now rather to add to the number of his followers than to scrutinize closely the reform of their manners. It is stated that the attractions the sect presents, which induce men to come forward and join it, are the moderate expenditure at marriage ceremonies, and the immunity enjoyed from Brahminical oppression and exaction.

Major Bamfield's report, of which the above paragraph is a brief summary, was laid before Government. It was considered that there was no cause shown to interfere with Rám Singh; and that laxity of morals on the part of his younger converts could not be regarded *per se* as proof of evil designs on the part of their head teacher.

The Kukas have recently set apart a place for meeting and worship in the civil station of Lahore.

During the year the restrictions placed on Rám Singh's movements were withdrawn, and he is now allowed to go where he pleases. Under the head of meetings the accounts will show that the conduct of Rám Singh and his followers has been orderly; and that hitherto he has proved himself worthy of the indulgence shown him. It appears extremely doubtful whether, on Rám Singh's death, the sect will retain its present religious character.

Fazl Kádir, the Inspector of Gujránwála district, reported that a number of Kukas had arms, and were ready to rise against the Government, but his charge has not been brought home. A writer in the "Koh-i-Nûr," a native newspaper published at Lahore, took a similar view, whilst praising highly the unselfishness and hospitality of the sect.

In October, shortly before the Diwálî fair, Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, Amritsar, sent a spy to Bhainí to ascertain the probable number of Kukas summoned to Amritsar; and also to

* This is probably the right reason, as Jálandhar and Hoshiárpúr are full of Kukas. Religious reforms usually commence with the poor.—*C. P. O.*

collect any information of their movements he could elicit. The man's statement may conveniently be abstracted under this division of the subject:—

At the Duserah about 3,000 followers of Rám Singh assembled at Bhainí; amongst them were the following súbhas—Kanh Singh of Hoshiárpúr, Lakha Singh, Sada Singh, Natha Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowáhir Singh, Khazan Singh, Wazir Singh and Narain Singh, of Amritsar. When I arrived at Bhainí I found that Sirdár Mangal Singh, of Patiála, (with 5 sowars) had come to pay his respects to Rám Singh. The Sirdár informed Rám Singh that he had been transferred to Dholpúr, and that he would send him Rs. 200 a month. Rám Singh said he had written to the Pújaries of Anandpúr expostulating with them for preventing his visiting their temple, while persons who drank wine and ate flesh were allowed to enter; and threatening them with the punishment of being included in the list of those whose names he had entered in a letter to the Guru. This missive to the Pujaries had been seized by the authorities. On hearing this the Sirdár said he hoped the Government would not coerce Rám Singh. Rám Singh replied he was coerced in Sambat 1919 (A. D. 1863,) but in return he had their ships swamped in the cyclone, and the Governor-General died. He added that, 'if they annoy me now, all their houses will be burnt. The Sat-Guru is driving the Russians this way. The Russians are not coming of their own accord.' A constable of the Ambálah police, Kánh Singh, then came in and reported to Rám Singh that a Kuka, Harnám Singh, and one Pirágdás, had not escaped, but had been convicted at Ambálah and sentenced to transportation. He had accompanied the prisoners as far as Ludiánah, and had endeavored to alleviate their sufferings, as the other men molested them. Kánh Singh also said he had received a medal from the District Superintendent of Police with orders to wear it round his neck, but he did not want to do so. Rám Singh replied—'While they are here, wear it; when they move off, take it off. Though we are called Tirkháns, we will be above all.' On Kánh Singh expressing a wish to be always with Rám Singh, the latter told him to go and resign the service. Rám Singh has issued orders to his followers to assemble at the Amritsar Diwáli, and about 15,000 may be expected.

There is a report current that Rám Singh is identifying himself with the new avatár prophesied in the Granth by Govind Singh, namely, that in 1878 a new man would be born, who in 1897 would be initiated by his Guru; it is now (Sambat) 1924, so Rám Singh gives out he was born in 1878, and was initiated at Hazru in 1897.

The following is a translation by Mr. Christie, Assistant Superintendent, Police, of the passage in the Granth above referred to:—

The attributes of the Almighty, I, Nának, recite as a man;

Who created content and pleasure, sits alone looking on.

The true Almighty of true justice, may my prose do justice.

When this body falls to pieces, then Hindustan will believe this saying—

In 78 will come, will go in 97, another person of note.

Nának speaks these words of truth at the hour of truth (morning).*

II.—Offences against the law committed by Kukas from religious zeal.

The following is a brief summary of such offences as have been reported during the past year, grouped under the districts in which they were perpetrated.

* This prophecy was uttered by Nának when taken prisoner by the Ruler of Eminábád, and apparently alludes to the advent of the king of Delhi (Báber), who did actually come in 1578 (A. D. 1521)?—*C. P. O.*

Lahore.—On the 24th December, Ratan Singh, a brahmin of Shekhwán, reported at the Murídki Police station, that some of the new sect of Kukas recently established in that village had destroyed, by digging up with spades, two places sacred to Hunumán and Lachman, worshipped by the Hindus of the village.

Lúnah and Nehála deposed to having been informed about midnight by one Umar, a Chúra, that he had heard some one digging in the Hindu place of worship. They went to the spot and found two men digging, destroying the images of Hunumán and Lachman; both trespassers ran away on seeing the deponents, who started in pursuit and succeeded in capturing one Dewa Singh. He begged to be let off, and said his companion was Arjan Singh; the latter was sent for, but, as no one could swear to his identity, he was discharged.

Dewa Singh was convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, two months to be solitary, and to pay a fine of Rs. 25, or six months' further imprisonment in default.

This sentence has had a very wholesome effect, as no fresh offences have been since reported in the Lahore district.

Ludiána.—Major Perkins mentioned in his diary (January) that a party of twenty-two Kukas defaced a place of worship at the village of Champar, Police station Dehlon. The two men in charge of the temple declared that their arms were tied whilst the work of demolition went on. The District Superintendent went out to Dehlon and personally investigated the case. The damage done amounted to about Rs. 100; and Major Perkins considered that, if the accused were convicted, they deserved a severe sentence as an example to others. The evidence for the prosecution was, however, deemed insufficient, and the defendants were discharged.

A few weeks after this occurrence the Deputy Inspector of Police at Dehlon reported that twenty-seven graves had been destroyed at a village named Khatri Koseh; the parties suspected were four Mazbî Kukas (Khazána, Kána, Basáwa Singh and Bahádur Singh). These graves or "marrîs" are the sites where the cremation of bodies takes place. After burning the body the ashes are collected, and a small heap or mound made, which is plastered over with mud; these may be seen outside every Hindu village. The graves the four men injured were those of their own friends and relatives. The deed was done in the middle of the day, so that no difficulty was experienced in obtaining evidence, and the accused were sent for trial, convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 10 each, or one month additional imprisonment in default.

About a month subsequent to this event a small meeting of Kukas was held in the house of Megh Singh, a resident of Punadi in the Khana station. The guests remained hearing the Granth until midnight, when they separated. Megh Singh, Sher Singh, Jota Singh and Golába (Mazbîs), however, went outside the village and destroyed a "marrî," a "pír-khána" (Mahomedan place of worship,) and four graves. The Deputy Inspector of Police, on hearing of the affair, at

once suspected the Kukas, who confessed. They were tried, convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 10, or in default, one month's additional imprisonment.

Amritsar.—Towards the end of February Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, reported that the Kukas had been holding a number of meetings under the súbhas Brahma Singh and Jota Singh. He added that he had received intimation of their having damaged masjids, thákurdwaras, graves, &c., in the jurisdiction of the Police stations of Jandiálah and Lopokí. In Jandiálah a khángah at Shekh Tritta was injured, and in Lopokí a khángah at Kuhála; a Hindu dewá at Chowinda was broken, some masonry graves were destroyed, and fires lighted over earthen ones at Kakkar. The complaining parties could adduce no proof, but doubtless the damage was done by Kukas. Moreover, the plaintiffs were disinclined to prosecute, and merely wished to bring the matter to notice. The Zaildárs were urged to exert themselves, and detect and put a stop to such proceedings.

Some three weeks after the issue of these orders the Chaukidár of village Malokí, in the Rayah Police station, brought one Visáka Singh in custody to the latter post. Visáka Singh was a resident of village Dháríwál (Police station Nárowál) and had been caught in the act of destroying a Mahomedan grave, by three men of Maloki. A gathering of Kukas had taken place in the village, and the Mahomedans had prudently placed these men to watch their burying-ground. The man was sent for trial.

It was reported that the Kukas had given the title of *Zillah* (district) to the village of Kakkar, and *thanah* (Police station) to that of Fattehwál. Both these places are in the Ajnála Tahsíl.

A few days elapsed when two more cases of a similar description were sent for trial from the Ajnála Tahsíl. In the first, Partáb Singh, Lehná Singh, Lakka Singh, Piára Singh, Nihál Singh and Kesar Singh, Kukas of Kakkar, were charged with having destroyed tombs and fired a masjid belonging to their village. In the second, Badhawá Singh and Bhúp Singh, of Kakkar, were accused of twice destroying the samâd (grave) of their ancestors. The plaintiffs it appeared had condoned their first offence and rebuilt the tomb. These proceedings much incensed the village community of Kakkar. The Mahomedans and other classes were loud in their complaints against the Kuka sect, and accused them not only of destroying their relations' graves, but of cutting the crops of tobacco* growing near the village.

Colonel McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore Circle, took occasion, on his visit to Anandpur, in the Hoshiárpur district, to point out to Rám Singh the discredit such outrages brought on his faith; he solemnly affirmed he had issued the strictest orders to his followers against interfering with shrines or tombs, and expressed a wish that the offenders might be punished.

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* The Kukas and orthodox Sikhs do not smoke.

The accused in the above-mentioned cases were discharged by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar with a warning.

Jálandhar.—Captain Ramsay, District Superintendent, reported the prevalence of a rumour that the Kukas intended to destroy the sacred shrine at Nigáhia, but it subsequently proved groundless.*

Gurdáspur.—In March Mr. Kinchant, District Superintendent, reported that an image of Shio had been taken out of a thákurdwára, and that Kukas were suspected. In the Dera Nának Police station some Kukas had pulled down a wall in the village of Títarke.

Gujránwála.—Captain Wall, District Superintendent, reported that several shrines were injured in the district, and that strong suspicion rested on the members of the Kuka sect; but as the mischief was invariably done at night, when no one was moving about outside the villages, it was impossible to obtain evidence. The khángah of Hussen Sháh, outside the city of Gujránwála, was injured, filth was thrown into the tomb of Pír Gudrí, the tank of Dya Rám was damaged, and also that of Hukma Singh. At Badokí beef bones were thrown into the shrine, and the building was marred.

Siálkot.— Some tombs were destroyed in the village of Sukhána, but there was no proof that Kukas were concerned. On the contrary, it appears to have been done by some one out of spite to the villagers.

III.—Meetings and large assemblies attended by Kukas; with a brief account of the principal ones.

The small gatherings of the Kukas are extremely numerous, and it would be impossible to enter into details, giving the date and place of every meeting, even were the information available. At most, only such assemblies as attracted notice can be mentioned. The meetings will be touched upon under the districts in which they were held, but it may be well to place at the commencement of this head the instructions issued to the Police of the Lahore and Siálkot districts to guide them in their dealings with these assemblies. The Police were ordered to keep a surveillance over meetings of the Kuka brotherhood; and when such large gatherings were expected as might reasonably be anticipated to end in a breach of the peace, the usual steps were to be adopted for having them put a stop to.

It was reported from Sirsa, that the Malaut Kukas gave out that, as Rám Singh had been debarred access to the Mukatsar fair, they would have one of their own at Bhainí.

Shortly after this the District Superintendent reported that Rám Singh, in consequence of his inability to leave Bhainí himself, had issued a general invitation to his followers to assemble at that place during the Holí. Major Perkins, District Superintendent, Police, Ludi-

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* See *ante*, page 12. Pír Sukí-Sultán, or Sarwar Sultán, was a Multán celebrity who flourished in 570 Hijra. His name was Saed Ahmad, his father's name Ghází-ul-ábuddín. He died at Nigáhia, in the Sulimán range of mountains in the Dera Ghází Khán district, where many pilgrims now resort.—*C. P. O.*

ánah, was of opinion that the meeting should not be interfered with, and the Inspector-General desired it might take place, provided the number of people collected was not excessive. It passed off quietly.

A small meeting was held in February, of about 80 Kukas, at Kûm, on the Ludiánah and Machiwára road. Rám Singh in this instance neglected to obtain permission to call the assembly.

There was a meeting of Kukas about ten days subsequently, at the house of Megh Singh of Panadi. The destruction of graves committed by himself and his guests has been noticed under the second section.

In March a meeting was held at Kotlah-Dakh, where 150 new converts were initiated.

In the Lahore district small assemblies were reported at Shekhwán and Basírí.

The following is an account by Colonel McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore Circle, of the visit of Rám Singh to the great Anandpur fair in Hoshíarpur in March last.

I proceeded to Anandpur to superintend the Police arrangements during the melá held there; before leaving Lahore, on the 10th of the month, I was informed by the Secretary to Government, that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor had given Rám Singh, leader of the Kuka Pant, permission to visit Anandpur. I informed the Commissioner of Jálandhar, and consulted with him at that station on the 12th; I also sent orders to Hoshíarpur to collect as many Police as could be spared from other duties. On the 13th I arrived at Hoshíarpur and consulted Mr. Perkins, Deputy Commissioner, as to the arrangements to be made, taking with me an Inspector, Deputy Inspector, and 50 men of the Hoshíarpur Police, and a Deputy Inspector and 10 men from Jálandhar; all were picked men, old soldiers, Mahomedans and Rajputs. Sirdár Bahádur Atar Singh, late Commandant of the Sherdil Regiment, and Kutub Sháh, Inspector of Police, Firozpur, and Fatteh Dín Khán, Inspector, Amritsar District, also accompanied me.

Attended by Mr. Hatchell, Assistant Superintendent of Hoshiárpur, I arrived at Anandpur on the morning of the 17th and encamped in a convenient spot, out of the way but within a short distance of the Kes-Gurh temple, dedicated to Guru Govind Singh. I decided on keeping the Policemen as much out of sight as possible, and to carry on all arrangements through the influential and trustworthy officers I had brought with me. On the 18th Mr. Perkins, Deputy Commissioner, arrived, and we proceeded to ascertain the feelings of all parties on the subject of Rám Singh's visit. The head Mahant of the Kes-Garh, Hari Singh, at first seemed to object strongly to the admission of the Kukas, and expected that we would, on the part of Government, interfere to stop them; we fully explained to him that the temple being open to Sikhs and Hindus of every denomination, we could see no cause why the Kukas should be excluded by us on the part of Government. After a good deal of talking, the Mahant's objections were reduced to one, which was that the Kukas should not uncover their heads, shout, or do anything contrary to the customs of the shrine; that if they came and went like other Sikhs, he had no objection to urge; we told him this would be arranged, and he went away, not, I think, quite satisfied. In the evening I sent Sirdár

Atar Singh to him to say that, as we agreed to all he required, Government would hold him and his shrine responsible for any disturbance. As the Mahant had urged the risk of disturbance on the part of Nahangs, who had come in unusual numbers (some 200) to their own temple of Anandpur, I sent for the Mahant of this place, and Mr. Perkins explained to him that the Nahangs must keep quiet, or it would not be well for him or them; and all seemed satisfactorily arranged.

On the morning of the 19th Rám Singh arrived in state, followed by some 20 mounted men and about 2,500 people on foot; as he passed in front of our camp, I went out and directed Sudh Singh, one of his head Mahants, who led the procession on horseback, to dismount and pay his respects to Mr. Perkins, the Deputy Commissioner; on this Rám Singh and all his head men immediately dismounted, and I introduced him to Mr. Perkins, who took him into his tent, where we held a long conversation, the followers standing outside. Rám Singh stated his object was to perform the *darshan* (worship) at the shrine of Guru Govind Singh; but that he was ready to do whatever we ordered; that if we objected he would return as he came. We explained to him the objections made to his followers uncovering their heads and shouting; he seemed rather put out at this, and said that if his people recited the "subut" he could not answer for them, as they lost all command of their actions; we told him that under these circumstances we could not permit this to be done, as it would give offence, was not according to Sikh custom, and would cause disturbance for which Government would hold himself and his followers responsible. He did not seem to like this argument, and agreed that the "subut" should not be recited, and that he would not take more than 100 followers with him when he himself visited the temple, at an early hour next morning which we fixed. He then retired with his followers. In the evening I visited his camp, taking no one with me but Sirdár Atar Singh; he, Rám Singh, was seated under a shamiána surrounded by his people; on the ground there must have been about 5,000 of them, and they were flocking in from all quarters; they were quiet and orderly, and many of the men and women well dressed; I saw no people in a state of excitement, or insensible. Rám Singh on seeing me immediately left his seat and came forward and saluted, which is not always the case with Gurus and other religious magnates. I returned his salám and went back to camp.

On the evening of the 19th Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of the Jálandhar Division, arrived in camp, and approved of the arrangements made. The presence of the Commissioner had the best possible effect; the Sodhís, Mahants, and head people of the place presented themselves; and any party inclined to give trouble at once saw that it would be by no means advisable to do so.

About 7 in the morning Rám Singh with some 100 followers proceeded to the Kes-Garh shrine. I did not consider it advisable to station any Police guard at the temple; and, with the consent of the Commissioner, the men were kept in their tents out of sight, but ready for duty. I directed Inspectors Fazl Hussen, Kutub Sháh, and Sirdar Atar Singh, to go to the temple and see what took place, and to get the people to pass out as quickly as possible. Just as Rám Singh was approaching the temple I observed a body of Nahangs advancing; they were marching in order, shouting and armed with heavy clubs and small kulháris (or axes). As they passed the camp I ordered them to halt and lay down their clubs. Seeing only a Deputy Inspector, Mr. Hatchell, and myself, they refused, and commenced arguing in an excited state, and looked as if they meant resistance. Observing this, I called for the guard on duty who were inside the tents, and the Nahangs immediately found

themselves surrounded by 30 men armed with swords, and their clubs were taken from them in a very short time. They seemed very savage and much disgusted, and, refusing to proceed without their clubs, returned to their own *búnga*, where there were about 200 of their brother Nahangs. The band disarmed consisted of about 50 Nahangs; and 30 heavy bludgeons and axes were taken from them. I afterwards heard that the Nahangs had consulted together about Rám Singh and the Kukas visiting the temple, and that with the exception of this band they had agreed that it was not advisable to offer any obstruction, but this party insisted on protecting the shrine of the Guru.

The Commissioner returned to Núrpúr on the evening of the 20th, and Mr. Perkins to Hoshiárpúr; and when I left Anandpúr this morning the greater number of people had left the place; the mela was over. The Police guard return to Hoshiárpur and Jálandhar to-morrow.

The report of Fazl Hussen, the Inspector deputed to the Anandpur fair, will be found at the end of this *precis* as an Appendix; it contains some interesting particulars.

In Siálkot the Deputy Commissioner, Major Mercer, forbade the Kukas to hold assemblies without giving him information and obtaining sanction. The súbha Jamáyat Singh is the head of the sect in this district. In September a meeting was held without permission at Killa Sobha Singh. Seven Kukas from Ludiánah were in attendance; and the disciples stated they had assembled to pray for the abatement of cholera.

In Amritsar numerous small meetings were held under the superintendence of súbhas Brahma Singh and Jota Singh. Here also the Deputy Commissioner forbade gatherings of the sect unless special permission was sought and obtained.

The great event of the year, however, in connection with this sect, was the visit of Rám Singh to the sacred temple at Amritsar last October. Captain Menzies' report on the subject is subjoined. It appears that Rám Singh was accompanied to Amritsar by his wife and daughter. From a native account it appears that a large number of the native gentry and tradespeople of Amritsar visited Rám Singh and presented him with offerings to the value of Rs. 700; he also received twelve "thans" (pieces) of fine cloth. He distributed Rs. 350 in blankets to his followers. A female súbha, a young woman of 20 years of age, has been appointed to the Amritsar district. Her name is Húkmí; she is a daughter of Ratan Singh, Zamíndár, village Darya, Thana Sirhali, in the Amritsar district; and her duty is to convert women and receive them into the faith.

When Rám Singh visited the sacred shrine he paid some small alms and received in recognition of his religious character the following offerings:—From the Mahants of the Darbár Sahib,* a doshálá and a pagrî. From Jhanda Búnga, a dopattá and pagri. From Bábá Atal Sahib, a dopatta with embroidered edge and a pagri. The Inspector (Narain Singh) states Rám Singh offered Rs. 2 at the Akál Búnga, which was accepted, but they declined to bless him. On his return from the

* The Darbár Sahib is the sacred temple of the Sikhs in Amritsar city.

Darbár Sahib, the Mahants of the Akál Búnga offered to bless him if he would recant the innovations introduced by his sect; this he refused to do. Captain Menzies has apparently made a slight mistake on this point. The following is his report:—

The Diwáli fair has passed off most successfully as far as crime and Police arrangements are concerned, though the numbers were very small. Rám Singh, Kuka, arrived on the 25th, and encamped at a well about a mile out of the city on the Tarn-Tárn road. He arrived with an attendance of about 12 or 14 men. Some 800 of his sect had assembled beforehand. This number increased on the 26th and 27th to about 1,200. Besides these, however, there were about 3,000 or 3,500 about the city located in búngas, &c. Rám Singh was informed that he must call on the Commissioner, and Inspector Narain Singh was placed in charge of his camp with instructions to accompany him whenever he left it. He was told that he might go when and where he liked *alone*, but that if he wished to visit the temple in *state* he must go at half past 5 A. M. on the 27th, with no more than 50 followers. The arrangements noticed in my Weekly No. II. to preserve order, were duly made, and on Sunday morning, the 27th, Rám Singh went to the temple with about 50 followers, though, when inside, this number increased to 200 or 300, as all of his sect in the temple joined him. He was admitted at the temple and other places of worship round the tank, except at the Akál Búnga, where the Nahangs sit, and where Sikhs are made. Here on presenting his offerings they were declined unless he agreed to pay the fine to be inflicted on him for his *sins* in introducing innovations. This he declined to do, and passed on. He called on the Commissioner on the morning of the 26th. He again visited the Darbár Sahib on the 28th, and remained at his bunga for some time, where Sirdár Shamsher Singh of Raja-Sansî and his brother, Thákur Singh, called on him and presented offerings. He was visited in camp by several of the native gentlemen of the city, Mahomedan, Hindu, and Sikh, also by the Revd. Mr. Clark, Mr. Storrs, and Mr. Christie, Assistant Superintendent of Police. During his visit he has made many, some say 2,000, proselytes; these include men and women, even children of two and three days of age, who are admitted in order that the family may eat together. Latterly, owing to the numbers to be admitted he gave up whispering in each convert's ear, and merely repeated the *Wah Guru jí ká Khalsa* out loud to all in a row. He was accompanied by Sirdár Mangal Singh of Dholpur, Patiála, and by the following súbhas or headmen:—

Rám Singh and his father, Jassa Singh.

1. Súdh Singh.
2. Sahib Singh.
3. Narain Singh, of Mukatsar.
4. Malúk Singh, of Phollaználla.
5. Samand Singh, of Kuliya.
6. Nahang Singh (real name Kanh Singh Nahang) of Gúrdáspur.
7. Khazán Singh.
8. Lakha Singh.
9. Jamayat Singh, of Killa-Sobha Singh.
10. Jota Singh, of Gujránwála.
11. Brahma Singh. (All the above are mentioned in the pamphlet.)

The following new súbhas were also present:—

1. Rámjas, Brahmin of Jagraon, Ludiánah.
2. Lál Singh (no place in particular).
3. Basáwa Singh, of Gulchetá.

4. Bábá Jowahir Singh, of Jaktopur, Fírozpúr.
5. Harnám Singh, of Jhínd.
6. Paharî Singh, of Ludiánah.
7. Hukmá Singh, of Amritsar.
8. Sádu Singh, of Ludiánah.
9. Surmukh Singh, of Patiála.
10. Gopál Singh (no place in particular).
11. Mussamat Hukmî, of Warrah, Amritsar.

The following residents of Amritsar were also present :—

1. Narain Singh.
2. Jowáhir Singh.
3. Rúr Singh.

Of the above, No. 2 in the first list, Sahib Singh, is acknowledged as his intended successor, and is apparently more listened to than Rám Singh himself. He, Súdh Singh, Nahang Singh, Brahma Singh and Lakha Singh, are all more or less turbulent and ill disposed to the restraint of constituted authority. The latter was the only man who misconducted himself during the fair. He abused a Police sergeant who stopped all in excess of 50 from entering the temple on the 28th. Inspector Ibrahím Khán, however, brought him to his senses at once; and Rám Singh apologized to the sergeant. During the fair only *one* stick was taken away from a Nahang, not another thicker than one's little finger was to be seen. I never have seen a more orderly and obedient crowd, or less crime than during this fair. Rám Singh was pleased with the locality assigned for his encampment, and at having a tank filled for his and his followers' use. With the exception of the Akál Búnga they were admitted anywhere, and mixed with the crowd on the illumination night in the most amicable way. Not a *hukka* has been broken, not a *pagrî* thrown off, or knocked off a non-Kuka's head; and in no way have they offended other sects. Though inculcating morality among his followers, Rám Singh appears to be somewhat immoral, for he is reported to be suffering from venereal disease.

Rám Singh and his chief men will remain here until the 1st proximo; his followers in general have mostly departed.

Memorandum by Colonel McAndrew.

I was at Amritsar during the Diwálî. The Police arrangements made by Captain Menzies were, as they always have been, judicious and successful, both in preventing crime and preserving order. The number of people assembled was much less than usual; the reason given was the great sickness during the season, and the number of people still weak from fever. The cattle fair was far below the average, and the number of horses greatly so, and not nearly equal to the demand; officers from many Irregular Cavalry corps were present as purchasers, but good remounts were scarce. I had a visit from Rám Singh, who expressed himself thankful to Government for removing the restriction formerly placed on his movements; there was a good deal of anxiety on the part of the people of the town to see Rám Singh, and numbers went to his camp. I enquired from Sirdar Mangal Singh (Rámgarhia), Honorary Magistrate and guardian of the temple, and from several other Sikh gentlemen, what they thought of Rám Singh; all stated that they looked on him as a well-disposed and inoffensive man, who believed in what he taught; but they did not express such a favorable opinion regarding some of his Mahants or súbhas, particularly of Sahib Singh, who is likely to succeed Rám Singh as Guru. Lakha Singh, mentioned by Captain Menzies, is Rám Singh's A. D. C., always about his person; he was formerly a sepoy in the "Sher Dil" regiment.

APPENDIX I.

Translation of report of Fazl Husain, Inspector of Police, Hushiárpur District, dated 20th March 1867, appointed to keep order at the Anandpúr Fair, District Hushiárpúr.

Since the establishment of the Kuka sect by Rám Singh, of Bhainí, in the Ludiánah District, and agreeably to orders, I have been trying to ascertain Rám Singh's object in establishing this sect.

I find that the religion of the Sikhs and Kukas is one; both read the "Granth" of Bába Nának and Guru Govind Singh; but there is great animosity between them.

This year, at the Anandpúr Holi fair, at which Rám Singh was allowed by Government to be present, he brought with him about 8,000 (eight thousand) Kukas. He arrived with his followers on the 19th March 1867.

I found that the Nahangs, Akális, Bedís and Sodhís were dissatisfied at Rám Singh's coming to the Anandpúr "Gurdwára" to worship. They were always in the habit of refusing admission to Kukas, and it was their intention not to have admitted them on this occasion. They were, however, admitted, but on the following conditions, to which Rám Singh agreed for himself and followers :—

1st. Turbans not to be taken off the head.
2nd. The hair of the head not to be opened.
3rd. Shouting interdicted.

Rám Singh accordingly, with his followers, on the 20th March 1867, visited the Kesgarh* and Tek-Bahádur Gurdwáras, and worshipped there. He gave as offerings, Rs. 25 (twenty-five) at each place; but the Pujáris of the Kesgarh Gurdwára did not, as is the custom, pray† for him, at which Rám Singh was offended. As, however, Rám Singh was pleased with the conduct of the Pujáris of the Tek-Báhadur Gurdwára (who did pray for him), he gave them another rupee as a present.

On the same day (20th March 1867) Rám Singh wrote a letter in Gúrmukhi, to the Pujáris of the Kesgarh Gurdwára, asking them whether they did consider him a Sikh of the Guru that they did not pray for him; he at the same time said that he did not care for their prayers; that a Sikh of the Guru was one who was not proud.

To Rám Singh's letter no written reply was sent, but he was informed verbally of the following differences in their religion, &c., as a reason for the Pujáris not praying for him :—

1st. That, he sets himself up as a God.

2nd. That, when making a convert, he does not give him Amrat‡ to drink, as is the custom, but whispers a "Mantar"§ in his ear.

3rd. That, when he makes a convert, he says to him, "Janam Guru Hajru, ur bashí Guru Bhainí"‖ whereas the Sikhs say, "Janam Guru Patna, ur bashí Nandpur."¶

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* *The Kesgarh and Tek-Bahádur Gurdwáras are two Hindu (Sikh) worshipping places at Anandpur.—C. P. O.*

† *It is usual for Pujaris to wish a donor long life, wealth and all kinds of happiness. This is called "Urdas."—C. P. O.*

‡ *"Amrat" is the holy water given to all Sikh converts. It is simply "Sharbat" of sugar and water.*

§ *"Mantar" means a charm, incantation, secret consultation, private advice.*

‖ *Translated, this would be "God was born at Hajrú, but lives at Bhainí."*

¶ *This means "God was born at Patna, but lives at Nandpur."*

4th. That whereas Sikhs entering a place of worship do not untie their hair,or remove their turbans, Kukas do.

5th. That Kukas, in exciting themselves to such a degree as to be at times insensible, act like Mahomedan fakîrs, and cannot be Guru Sikhs.

To this Rám Singh replied that, if they really acted up to the Sikh religion, they would appreciate his doctrine. That they act quite contrary to the "Granth"* by eating meat, drinking, lying, licentiousness, female infanticide, &c., and that therefore Kukas do not consider them Sikhs. Rám Singh concluded with the remark that Kukas, in thinking of God, become so excited that they do not think of their hair and turbans as Sikhs do.

There was great enmity between the Nahangs and Kukas, and a body of the former, mustering about fifty (50) strong, intended assaulting the Kukas with clubs, on the occasion of their visit to the Kesgarh gurdwára, but this was prevented by the Police disarming the Nahangs of their clubs, and preventing them from proceeding towards the gurdwára.

At the fair there were at least 8,000 (eight thousand) Kukas, of whom about two-thirds were adult males, and one-third women and children.

The following are the men whom Rám Singh has appointed his súbhas or lieutenants, and all of whom, with exception of Jota Singh (No. 12) were present at the fair.

1. *Mangal Singh, of Bishanpura, a relation of the Putiála Rája.*
2. Sudh Singh.
3. Sahib Singh.
4. Kanh Singh.
5. Jowáhir Singh.
6. Hukma Singh.
7. Hardit Singh.
8. Malúk Singh.
9. Dídár Singh.
10. Ratan Singh.
11. Surmukh Singh.
12. Jota Singh.
13. Lakha Singh.
14. Budh Singh.
15. Narain Singh.
16. Khazán Singh.
17. Harnám Singh.
18. Sádho Singh.
19. Samand Singh.
20. Gopál Singh.
21. Brihma Singh.
22. Lawba Singh.

I made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain from these men some information as to their family residence. All I could elicit from them was that, since their conversion to Kukaism, they had forgotten their residence, and only knew of Bhainí as such, and of Rám Singh as their Guru.

To me it appears that Kukas are most prevalent in the districts of Ambálah, Ludiánah, and Fírozpur, and in the Patiála and Nábha States. They are also, but less numerous, residents of Jálandhar, Hoshiárpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Siálkot and Gurdáspur.

Rám Singh had with him forty (40) horses for his own use and that of his súbhas. In all his processions he was preceded with colors flying and drums beating.

After a personal interview with Rám Singh, I am of opinion that he in no way acts in opposition to the British Government; but some of his súbhas (lieutenants) are bad men, who injure his reputation.

Súbhas (lieutenants) have been empowered by Rám Singh to repeat the "Mantar" to persons wishing to become Kukas. Nothing is taken from a man on his conversion to Kukaism, as is done when a man turns Sikh; but if after conversion a Kuka makes a present to Rám Singh, he takes it.

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* *The "Granth," a book of the Sikh religion, composed by Nának.*

Rám Singh, from his own house, is always feeding and clothing the poor, and teaching good, which accounts for his obtaining so many converts, of various creeds, to Kukáism. During the fair at Anandpur, in two days, there were no less than fifty converts.

Of the Sodhîs, Partáb Sing, Rasaulîwála, with his son Dewá Singh have both been converted to Kukaism ; and Sodhî Narindar Singh, Kiralîwála, with Sodhî Híra Singh, are both about to become Kukas.

From everything I see I am of opinion that the Kuka sect is daily increasing, while the Sikhs are on the decline, which is chiefly attributable to the fact that Kuka converts are put to no expense, whereas converts to Sikhism are. If the fifty men who have been converted to Kukaism during the fair had turned Sikhs, the Nahangs would have benefitted at least fifty (50) rupees ; whereas the Kuka converts have been gainers, and the Nahangs losers, by their conversion to Kukaism instead of to Sikhism. Thus the real cause of the animosity of the Nahangs is accounted for.

There is no foundation for the report that Rám Singh repeats a magic "Mantar" in the new convert's ear, which is never divulged, and has the effect of making the convert insensible. I find the "Mantar" to be as follows :—

"Sat gur ajis nawáz, tilráká jarang, akla na-ananti subawas nayang bhu-patha bîr."

Every Kuka must repeat this "Mantar" one hundred thousand times, within nine Sundays after his conversion ; after which he becomes a perfect Kuka. A new convert has nothing to do but repeat the "Mantar" as above. He is put to no expense whatever, in fact gets his food from Rám Singh for nothing.

When Nahangs receive converts for Sikhism, they give them long „ Mantars" to learn off, which the people have begun to dislike. This, coupled with the fact that it costs a Kuka convert nothing, whereas it does a Sikh, is, I believe, the real cause of Rám Singh obtaining so many converts to Kukaism.

Rám Singh bathes himself thrice daily, and at about 2 o'clock every morning takes to reading the "Granth," which he understands perfectly. He abhors everything wicked ; the Kukas therefore think very much of him, and honor him accordingly. They believe him to be a prophet sent by God to establish the Kuka sect, which is to rise on the extinction of the Sikh religion, which they firmly believe is already on the decline. They believe that Rám Singh thinks badly of all Hindus, as he prays to but one God, while the Hindus pray to several.

Rám Singh has obtained some converts from among the Mahomedans. All are uneducated, low caste men, who are told by Rám Singh and his súbhas that the Mahomedan and Kuka religion are, one. There are, however, some Mahomedans who speak well of the Kuka religion.

I know nothing more of the Kuka sect, or of Rám Singh, except that he is preparing a "Granth," which he intends calling the "Grunth Akhárî."* The rules and precepts laid down in this book, for the guidance of the Kukas, are at present not known. There is no likelihood of the book being made public

* *The "Granth" is of course the religious book of the Sikhs. But the "Granth Akhárî," which Rám Singh is compiling, will be the religious code of the Kukas.*

just yet ; but I have no doubt that, when made public, it will be found to contain nothing but prophecies to be fulfilled, say fifty or a hundred years hence, when of course Rám Singh will be no more.

APPENDIX II.

List shewing the names, parentage and other particulars of the lieutenants of Rám Singh, Kuka, who attended him during the late Diwálî fair at Amritsar.

1st.—Lábh Singh, son of Jíta Singh, cultivator, ("Vang") resident of Nowáshahr, District Jálandhar, is blind of both eyes, aged 40 years. This man preaches in the Jálandhar and Amritsar districts.

2nd.—Lakha Singh, son of Ran Singh, cultivator ("Surai"), resident of Pilloudh, District Ludíanah, but at present residing in Bhainí, aged 28 years. This man preaches to make converts in the Hoshiárpúr and Jálandhar Districts.

3rd.—Rájmas, son of Nának Chand, caste Brahmin, resident of Jagraon, District Ludiánah, aged 70 years ; preaches in the Ludiánah District.

4th.—Sahib Singh, son of Diál Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Binwálîpur, District Amritsar, aged 34 years. This man always remains in personal attendance on Rám Singh, and is the chief lieutenant and reputed successor of the Guru.

5th.—Kánh Singh, son of Natha Singh, caste cultivator, ("Bopári") resident of Chak in the Máler Kotla territory, aged 60 years, at present residing at Bilot, District Hoshiárpúr. This man is a great Nahang though a Kuka, and preaches in Hoshiárpúr, Ambálah, Málwa and Kohistán.

6th.—Narain Singh, son of Sant Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Kheri, District Ludiânah, aged 32 years ; preaches in Mukatsar and other places in the Firozpúr District.

7th.—Sudh Singh, son of Rám Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Saggrî, district Lahore, aged 42 years ; preaches in Ambála, Málwa, Májha, &c.

8th.—Hukmá Singh, son of Mohar Singh, caste cultivator ("Mánh"), resident of Punu in the Nábha territory, aged 25 years ; preaches in Ludianah and Májha, &c.

9th.—Pahára Singh, son of Hemá, caste cultivator ("Bundher"), resident of Pilloudh, district Ludiánah, aged 37 years ; preaches in Ludiánah, Gujránwala, &c.

10th.—Jowáhir Singh, son of Dhal Singh, caste cultivator ("Sohun") resident of Boleke, at present residing at Takhtapura, district Firozpur, aged 46 years ; preaches at Firozpur and adjacent places.

11th.—Samand Singh, son of Wasáwa Singh, caste cultivator ("Sidha") resident of Kholî, district Firozpur, aged 40 years ; preaches in Firozpur district.

12th.—Arúr Singh, son of Diál Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Binwalipur, district Amritsar, aged 40 years ; preaches in the Amritsar district.

13th.—Wasáwa Singh, son of Kharak Singh, caste cultivator ("Thong"), resident of Anúl district, Karnál, aged 50 years ; preaches in Karnál and Ambálah districts.

14*th*.—Musamát Hukmi, daughter of Ratan Singh, cultivator, resident of village Dáriya, district Amritsar, aged 20 years. This woman, in company with Kánh Singh Nahang (No. 5), preaches with great success in the Hushiarpur, Amritsar and other districts.

15*th*.—Jotha Singh, son of Ratna Singh, caste potter, resident of Dehbi, district Sialkot, aged 35 years ; preaches in Sialkot and Lahore districts.

16*th*.—Gopál Singh, son of Sahib Singh, caste cultivator (" Dháriwál"), resident of Mudhar in the Puttiala territory, aged 35 years, preaches in Ludiánah, &c., and has a shop in Bhaini, in Rám Singh Mahant's house.

17*th*.—Brema Singh, son of Goláb Singh, caste cultivator, resident of Kulána, district Ambálah, aged 45 years ; preaches in Jálandhar, Gujránwála, Lahore, and Sialkot districts.

18*th*.—Khazán Singh, son of Mani, caste carpenter, resident of Ladhána, district Jálandhar, aged 35 years ; preaches in Lahore, Amritsar, &c.

19*th*.—Surmukh Singh, son of Wasáwa Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Déhlon in the Patiála territory, aged 30 years ; preaches in and about the Patiála territory.

20*th*.—Harnám Singh, son of Asa Singh, caste cultivator, resident of Mandi in the Jhínd territory, aged 28 years ; preaches in the Jhínd and Patiála States.

21*st*.—Jamíyat Singh, son of Chanda Singh, caste cultivator, resident of village Gil, district Sialkot, aged 50 years : preaches in the Sialkot and adjacent districts.

22*nd*.—Malúk Singh, cultivator, resident of Bolaywál, district Firozpur, aged 35 years ; preaches in and around Firozpur.

23*rd*.—Sádhu Singh, resident of Ghagar, district Ludiánah, caste Udási Sádh, aged 32 years ; preaches in and about the Ludiánah district.

Besides preaching in the districts noted opposite each, these lieutenants are with the permission of Rám Singh. allowed to preach in many other places.

Report by the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1868. [Selected Papers, No. XVII.]

MEMORANDUM.

Central Police Office, Lahore, 19*th January* 1869.

The Inspector-General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, reporting on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1868, for the information of police officers.

2. District Superintendents are requested to gather quietly, and report in their confidential diaries, all the useful information they may be able to obtain regarding the Kukas.

No. 10, dated 19th January 1869

To—The Secretary to Government, Punjab, Civil Department.

POLICE.
Report on the Kuka sect for 1868.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Government, the result of the observations of the Kuka sect by the police during the year 1868.

Decline of Kukaism.

2. With the exception of a statement by the District Superintendent of Gujránwála, uniform testimony is borne by the papers I have received to the decline of Kukaism.

No destruction of tombs reported during the year.

3. During the year that has passed, no cases of the destruction of tombs have been brought to my notice; and I have reason to believe that the frequency of these offences in 1867, and the consequent punishments inflicted on Kukas for their perpetration, contributed in no small degree to the unpopularity of Rám Singh's tenets. I have been told by an intelligent native gentleman that the circumstances just alluded to created an impression in the minds of the people that the Kuka teaching must be bad if it led to such results; and a strong prejudice against his doctrines was thus created.

Surveillance over Rám Singh withdrawn in 1866.

4. The strict surveillance which was maintained over Rám Singh was relaxed in 1866, and he was permitted by Government to wander about wherever he wished. The cessation of our interference has removed the exalted importance it gave to Rám Singh. The natives argued that there must be some truth in the pretensions of the Kuka heresiarch, when a powerful Government like the British adopted stringent measures towards him; and probably our leaving him alone to his own devices, just at the time when the newness and interest of his movement were fading, caused a greater reaction than would ordinarily have set in.

Rám Singh loses in reputation by mixing with the people.

5. Whilst Rám Singh was in *quasi*-confinement at Bhainî, there was a charm of mystery and esotery about the man, to which our espionage perhaps added a spice of fascinating persecution. All this was calculated to attract the susceptible. His súbhas preached up their Guru as no mere man, but a very incarnation of the Deity, a co-equal with Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nának, of sainted memory to every Sikh. They described him in the following lines:—

پورن پرکه اوچت انبانشي جس بيد پوران ني گايا هے
اپنا بود رکها پرميشر رام سنگه نام کهايا هي

which may be roughly translated—"The God whose praise is in the "old poets, this God has appeared in the likeness of Rám Singh."

But as Mîr Fazl Husain, (Inspector of Police, Hushiârpúr,) writes:—

پيران نمی پرند مريدان می پرانند

"Pírs (holy men) are not worthy of worship, but their disciples cause them to be worshipped."

Belief in Rám Singh's supernatural powers shaken by experiment of a convert.

6. Close contact with the much-belauded Guru destroyed the illusion of his possessing supernatural powers, The District Superintendent of Police, Fíroz-pur, (Mr. Turton Smith) relates an amusing

instance in which Rám Singh's claims to omniscience were rudely exposed. An enquirer, who had been converted to Kukaism, but who wished to learn more of his new faith and its spiritual head, privately stole some garments belonging to Rám Singh, and hid them. For three days Rám Singh vainly endeavoured to trace his missing property. The eyes of his disciple were opened, he returned the clothes, and scornfully cast off his allegiance to such an impostor. The story spread, and upset the faith of many Kukas in the district of Fírozpur.

Objects in visiting the sacred temples in Hushiárpur and Amritsar districts.

7. One of Rám Singh's objects in wishing liberty to go where he pleased, was to visit the sacred temples at Anandpur, Mukatsar and Amritsar, where he hoped the guardians of the shrines and the Sikh hierophants would publicly acknowledge him as a Guru, and accord him similar honor and position with Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nának. The results of these pilgrimages have grievously disappointed him; indeed, I am told he seriously contemplates shutting himself up at Bhainî, of his own free choice, for the future. Contact with the common herd ill befits an aspirant to the repute of deific powers. The vulgar failed to appreciate him. Everywhere the old Sikh priests would have none of his new-fangled notions, and declined to bless him, even as an orthodox follower of Nának, unless he consented humbly to recant the innovations which made him what he was. Such conditions of course he was unable to accept, and his departure, unblessed, probably drew down the contempt of many a by-stander. In vain he attempted to effect a compromise with the old Sikh tenets: the priests naturally opposed utterly propositions which would necessitate a partial reception of Rám Singh's doctrines, denude them of much of their authority, and invest the Kuka leader with all the sanctity and power of a religious head of Sikhism. The discussions themselves were calculated to bring Rám Singh into ill odour. The free ventilation of Rám Singh's pretensions by unbelievers, and the consequent hard speeches and expressions of ridicule lavished on him and his followers, seriously damaged the reverence of Kukas for their new-found faith. It was the old story over again; we had only to let the movement alone, and, being of man, it came to naught.

Causes of decline of Kukaism.

8. To these causes, prejudicing the vitality of the Kukas as a sect, I may add the natural one—"action of time." The thing was getting stale; the fire of enthusiasm was growing cold; and the zeal of propagandists sensibly abating.

In former years, however intense was the dislike of the orthodox Sikhs to the new heresy, they were unable to vilify it and bring it into disrepute by pointing the finger of scorn to any degrading effects the Kuka rules of life might have on the morals of its brotherhood. 1868 has seen this altered. The body of believers has grown large, undisciplined and immoral; the odour of sanctity and the attrahent of a strict moral code no longer remain to extract a word of praise when people criticise the sect; and crime of a repulsive kind has been rampant in

high places. Rám Devi, the daughter of Rám Singh, who was held in reputation by the Kuka disciples, committed adultery, and was murdered by her husband for her unchastity. The infuriated husband wounded Kán Singh, the Hoshiárpúr súbha, and would have killed Rám Singh if he had been able, as he considered the wrong he had suffered attributable to the head of the sect to which she belonged; regarding her conduct as the natural result of the Kuka teaching. He was hanged for the murder of his wife in the month of July 1868. Chandu, a female apostle of Kukaism, who had preached largely in the Amritsar district, attended the Dîwálî festival at that city in 1867, and then absconded with a Tirkhán named Ganda Singh. She was murdered for her immorality by Jowáhir Singh and Ganda Singh. Jowáhir Singh was hanged, but Ganda Singh is still at large. These two cases have made the people think lightly of the moral practice of the Kukas, however pure the doctrines they inculcate may be. Superstition has perhaps heightened the effect produced by the death of Bhág Singh. Bhág Singh was a Jagirdar of village Purka in the Hushiárpúr district, who shortly after his acceptance of one of Rám Singh's súbhaships, died of a loathsome and revolting disease. Since his death no one, in that neighbourhood at least, seems inclined to become a man of note amongst the Kukas. I am also told that the idea that the dancing indulged in by both sexes amongst the Kukas was a phase of holy enthusiasm has exploded. An educated native expresses it—"The veil has been removed which hid the motives for this dancing," and goes on to explain that in their simulated phrenzy both men and women strip themselves of their clothes, and behave very indecently. This undue familiarity bears the fruits which might be expected from it.

Possibility of Rám Singh making an effort to regain the lost place for his sect in public opinion.

9. It is not surprising, after all I have recounted, that respectable people should look with disfavor on the Kukas. Rám Singh's visits are anything but coveted honors, as he comes accompanied by followers, with some twenty led horses; all have to be fed by the Kukas with whom he stays. The present scarcity and high prices have dried up any latent hospitality that may have existed amongst the disciples. All these things have combined to make 1868 an unfortunate year for Rám Singh. But I do not suppose that he will allow his popularity to wane without making an effort to regain the hold he possessed over the minds of the poorer classes. On the contrary, I consider we should maintain our attitude of watchfulness, perhaps less obtrusively than heretofore, as the flame of Kuka fanaticism may rise once and again to greater heights ere it finally dies out. We may confidently look, during 1869, to fresh measures being taken for the restoration of the zeal of the converts, if Rám Singh is able to take them, and if the old man has sufficient energy left to reorganize the society he has created. So far as I can judge, I should imagine that were Rám Singh to die whilst his sect is in a comatose state, even the energy of Sahib Singh (his supposed successor) would be powerless to restore its unity and zeal; but the result would be quite the reverse were the Kukas to reform, and earn themselves a good name, in the opinion of their neighbours, prior to their leader's death.

Report by the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1869. [Selected Papers No. XXII.]

MEMORANDUM.

Central Police Office, Lahore, 14th January 1871.

THE Inspector-General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjáb, reporting on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1869, for the information of police officers.

No. 7-201, dated Lahore, 14th January 1871.

From—LIEUTENANT-COL. G. HUTCHINSON, C. S. I., Inspector-General of Police, Punjab

To—The Secretary to Government, Punjab, Civil Department.

POLICE.
Report on the Kuka sect for 1869.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Government, the result of the police observation of the Kuka sect during the year 1869.

Kuka riot in *Firozpúr* district.

2. The principal incident to be related is the so-called riot in the Fírozpúr district. As it gives an insight into the dangers of Kukaism, when the leader is an unscrupulous, intriguing man, I give a somewhat full account of the occurrence, partly taken from the notes of the District Superintendent of Police, and partly from the judicial record of the trial.

Origin of the disturbance.

3. Towards the close of February 1869, reports reached Mr. Turton Smith that Kukas were collecting near Rúpána in the Fírozpúr district. It was stated that the lambardár of that village had burnt some spinning wheels, a charpoy, and a plough, part of a cart, &c., and having deserted his home, had proceeded with a body of Kukas in the direction of Tehrájwála, a village in the Sirsa district. The movements of this party were closely watched by Diwán Baksh, Deputy Inspector of Police, who anticipated disturbances in consequence of its attitude.

Attack on the Deputy Inspector.

4. Some two days later a report was sent in by Deputy Inspector Diwán Baksh, that the Kukas had set upon him for observing their movements. It appears that his sword was damaged and taken from him, his horse was struck with a spear; one Beli Singh either struck Diwán Baksh with an axe or a stick, and Mana Singh threw a spear at him. A constable who accompanied the Deputy Inspector was assaulted, his sword broken and taken from him, and his coat cut through by a blow from the blade. This attempt to deter the Police from their duty was made near Kuraiwála. Diwán Baksh stated that the party of Kukas used most seditious language, and proclaimed the Khalsa reign, setting all authority at defiance.

Police proceed to scene of riot.

5. In the absence of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, accompanied by Mr. Wakefield, Assistant Commissioner, started at once for the scene of disturbance, with as large a force of

police as could be collected. Some twenty foot Police were started off in ekkas, whilst fifteen mounted police accompanied the European Officers. Owing to the depth of sand the ekkas had to be abandoned a few miles out of Fírozpúr, and the men proceeded on foot.

The party arrived at Mukatsar (34 miles from Fírozpur) at 2 A. M. on the 1st March. The acting Tahsildár, Alam Shah, met them there, and told the officers that the Kukas were assembled at Tehrájwála, and that they refused to surrender. Alam Shah had only a few policemen with him, and had not deemed it prudent to attempt coercion.

Messrs. Wakefield and Smith then pushed on with the mounted police, the footmen following as closely as possible. They were joined by Sodhi Mán Singh and his brother, who had heard of their approach and came to offer their assistance.

Arrangements made to restore order.

6. On nearing Tehrájwála (about 25 miles distant from Mukatsar) it was deemed advisable to keep the police in the back-ground, and endeavour to arrest the offenders through the instrumentality of the villagers. The feeling of the country-people was most loyal, and they assembled with great good-will.

Attempt to negociate.

7. At 2 P. M. the party approached Tehrájwála. Inspector Kutub Shah and eight policemen, and Ali Mula, Superintendent of Settlements, were found waiting outside the village. The Inspector had made an attempt through Malúk Singh of Phulaiwála, a leading Kuka of moderate views, to induce the Kukas to surrender, but Malúk Singh declared he had been entirely superseded in his authority by Mastán Singh of Tehrájwála; Malúk Singh, however, procured Kutub Shah an interview with Mastán Singh, who demanded the Inspector's horse as "*nazarána*," and ridiculed him for believing the English could assist him: Mastán Singh further advised him to desert his falling Government and throw in his lot with the rising Kuka cause. Ali Mula's efforts to bring about order had been simply rewarded with showers of bricks. The Kukas presented turbans to the lambardárs of Tehrájwála, and requested them to join the movement.

Message sent to Kukas by Assistant Commissioner, and their surrender.

8. Such was the state of affairs on the arrival of Messrs. Smith and Wakefield. Mr. Wakefield despatched Alam Shah and Mân Singh to the Kukas to demand their unconditional surrender, and at the same time inform them that two European officers had arrived with a force. The deputation returned in about half an hour, bringing with them Mastán Singh and two of his chief followers: shortly afterwards the rest of the Kukas appeared in a very excited state. At first they refused to recognize any authority but that of Mastán Singh. Mastán Singh's assurance appears to have left him when confronted with the Europeans and the assembled villagers. It was a work of but few minutes to disarm the Kukas, who submitted to be bound together, and thus forty-four of them were taken in custody to the police station of Malaut, in the Sirsa district.

Arrangements previously made by the Kukas.

9. It is noteworthy that gúr in large quantities had been distributed by the Kukas; that several brought their families with them; and that a large number of gold and silver ornaments had been collected and placed at Mastán Singh's disposal. Mr. Turton Smith found ornaments to the value of some Rs. 5,000, and there is no doubt he did not succeed in discovering the total collections.

Mastán Singh, leader of the sect.

10. On the 2nd of March the forty-four prisoners were taken to Mukatsar. Mr. Smith here learnt that Mastán Singh acquired his influence over the Kukas by having prophesied the famine, which, luckily for him, actually came to pass. The reverence shown him by the members of his sect seems to have turned Mastán Singh's head; and, disgusted with Rám Singh's inaction, he appears to have set on foot this disturbance, as the means to accomplish, what he evidently considered the object of Kukaism, the restoration of the Khalsa rule. To effect his aim he superseded Malúk Singh, and employed a woman of Jhandwála, Mallaut, to obtain disciples by pretending that the spirit of Daya Kour, Rám Singh's murdered daughter, had entered into her and compelled her to proclaim Mastán Singh as the leader of the Kuka sect. Mastán Singh appears to have given out that Rám Singh was actually dead, and that he had succeeded him.

Trial of the prisoners for rioting.

11. The forty-four prisoners were placed on their trial before Mr. Knox, the Deputy Commissioner of Firozpúr, who was instructed by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracroft, the Commissioner of Lahore, with the approval of Government, to try them for rioting, and not for attempting to wage war; and to award only a few severe sentences.

The following is the result:—

1. Anok Singh of Jhandwála, Sirsa, ...	Released without trial.
2. Anúp Singh of Bholwála, Mukatsar,	do.
3. Bahádur Singh of Tehrájwála, Sirsa ...	do.
4. Bela Singh do. ...	do.
5. Beli Singh do. ...	Struck the Deputy Inspector either with a stick; or an axe; sentenced to a fine of Rs. 10, or in default to three months' simple imprisonment.
6. Bhúp Singh of Thot, Mukatsar ...	Released without trial.
7. Bhagwán Singh of Jhandwála, Sirsa,	do.
8. Budh Singh do. ...	do.
9. Buchatar Singh of Kuraiwála, Mukatsar ...	Struck the Deputy Inspector's horse with a spear, sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

10.	Bhagwan Singh of Sohag, Mukatsar,	Released without trial.
11.	Chanda Singh of Sota, Mukatsar ...	do.
12.	Dhián Singh of Labarwála, Sirsa,	do.
13.	Diál Singh of Sundewála, ...	do.
14.	Híra Singh of Phulwála, Mukatsar,	do.
15.	Harnám Singh of Dohiwála, Sirsa ...	do.
16.	Harnám Singh of Olak, Sirsa ...	Joined with Surmukh Singh in the assault on Sobe Shah, constable. Broke his sword, and cut his coat with the blade. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25, or three months' imprisonment in default.
17.	Jamíyat Singh of Sundewála ...	Released without trial.
18.	Jîta Singh of Doewala ...	ditto.
19.	Jai Singh of Sota, Mukatsar ...	ditto.
20.	Jaimal Singh of Kúnan, do. ...	ditto.
21.	Khan Singh of Joga, Patiála ...	ditto.
22.	Khazán Singh of Sota, Mukatsar,	ditto.
23.	Kharak Singh ditto ...	ditto.
24.	Lál Singh of Husanar, Mukatsar,	ditto.
25.	Maha Singh of Labarwála, Sirsa ...	ditto.
26.	Mán Singh of Sota, Mukatsar ...	ditto.
27.	Malúk Singh of Bholwála, do.	Held to have been concerned, but not to have taken an active part. Warned and discharged.
28.	Mana Singh of Channu, Sirsa,	Threw an iron-headed spear at the Deputy Inspector. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, and fine of Rs. 25, or in default three months' imprisonment
29.	Mastán Singh of Tehrájwála, Sirsa ...	Sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 50, or six months' in default.
30.	Narain Singh of Kuriánwála ...	Released without trial.
31.	Nand Singh of Phulewála ...	ditto.
32.	Natha Singh of Mah Vadr, Mukatsar ...	ditto.
33.	Sahib Singh of Kuraiwála, Mukatsar ...	ditto.
34.	Sher Singh of Bholwála, do. ...	ditto.

35.	Sobha Singh of Sota, do. ...	Released without trial.
36.	Sohel Singh of Olak, Sirsa ...	ditto.
37.	Sudh Singh of Jagarála, Patiálá,	ditto.
38.	Sarmukh Singh of Bholwála, Mukatsar ...	This man assaulted constable Sobe Shah with a stick, striking him on the head. Fined Rs. 10, or in default three months' simple imprisonment.
39.	Tára Singh of Fakarsar, Mukatsar,	Released without trial.
40.	Amar Singh of Sandewála ...	ditto.
41.	Amar Singh of Gurusar ...	ditto.
42.	Atar Singh of Doewála ...	ditto.
43.	War Singh of Labarwála, Sirsa,	ditto.
44.	Wazír Singh of Rupána, Mukatsar ...	ditto.

Rewards to Sodhi Mán Singh and others.

12. Sodhi Mân Singh was made an Honorary Magistrate in consideration of his services on this occasion, and pecuniary rewards were distributed to the villagers.

Exertion of the Police.

13. The foot police marched 65 miles in thirty hours, and the mounted police performed the same distance in 24 hours, with the utmost cheerfulness. Their services have not, I believe, been acknowledged.

Decline of Kukaism in Hushiárpur.

14. The District Superintendent of Hushiárpur reports a remarkable decline in the energy of the sect, the cause being the one assigned in my report of last year. Captain Boddam states that no meetings have been held by the súbahs, as usual, for making converts. Since Rám Singh has taken to visiting different parts of the country, the people have had an opportunity of seeing and observing him to the destruction of his repute for sanctity. Indeed it is currently rumoured that Rám Singh only escaped the fate of his daughter (who was murdered by her husband for adultery) by flight; thus proving the absurdity of the súbha's assertions of his invulnerability. Many Kukas have abandoned the tenets of the sect.

Character of Kukas as to crime.

15. It is a new feature that in the past year Kukas have frequently appeared as defendants in criminal cases. Crime is very heavy at Kakkar, which is the Amritsar head-quarters. In Firozpur a Kuka was convicted of murder by poison, and another (Sohail Singh) of cattle theft.

State of Kukaism in Sirsa, Jálandhar, and Amritsar.

16. In Sirsa no fresh converts have been made; but in Jálandhar, notwithstanding several recantations, the Kukas number 137 more than in 1868. The District Superintendent thinks the teaching is more calm, and that the sect will not outlive Rám Singh. This opinion

is shared by Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Amritsar, who remarked that, when Rám Singh visited the Golden Temple during the Dîwálî festival, he was received merely as an ordinary individual, and no reverence whatever was shown him. The sect is said to be dying out, and the natives speak of it as "*thanda*"—cold.

17. Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins thinks that Rám Singh has suffered considerably in prestige by his itinerations; but probably the present famine prices render it impossible for the old man to remain at home and feed his numerous visitors. The District Superintendents of Lahore and Siálkot, through whose districts Rám Singh travelled, state that he made very few converts.

In Ludiánah, Lahore, and Siálkot.

18. Rám Singh passed through the Gurdáspur district with some one hundred and fifty followers: he is said to have made 125 converts. Budh Singh of Manawála, Siálkot; Jota Singh of Siálkot; Mangal Singh, said to be related to the Raja of Patiálá, and Bába Narien Singh (called Diwán) were his principal attendants.

Rám Singh's progress through Gurdáspur.

19. In November reports were received that the Maharaja of Kashmîr was raising a Kuka regiment, and that each recruit received a certificate from Rám Singh before setting out for Kashmîr.

Kuka regiment for Kashmîr.

Report by the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1870. [Selected Papers, No. XXIII.]

MEMORANDUM.

THE Inspector-General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, reporting on the conduct of the Kuka sect during the year 1870, for the information of Police Officers.

Central Police Office, Lahore, 30th January 1871.

(Confidential.) No. 12—376, dated Lahore, 30th January 1871.

From—LIEUT-COLONEL G. HUTCHINSON, C. S. I., Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

To—The Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Government, the principal features of interest in the proceedings of the Kuka sect during the year 1870.

POLICE.
Report on the Kuka sect for 1870.

2. My last note * upon this association closed with the mention of the enlistment of a Kuka regiment for Kashmír. I am now able to give fuller details regarding this battalion.

* *Vide* para. 19 of this Office No. 7, of 14th January 1871.

3. A Deputy Inspector was sent in the end of 1869 to Jammu to learn particulars concerning the composition and interior economy of

this corps. He returned in February 1870, and gave, in substance, the following report :—

Some six or seven months ago, Híra Singh (Ambálah district); Tára Singh (of Killa Desa Singh, Amritsar district); Lál Singh (of Patiálá); Chanda Singh (of Amritsar); and about thirty other Kukas, went to the Máhárája of Kashmír and asked for service. The Máhárája promised to form them into a regiment if they could collect enough men to constitute one; a residence was assigned them in the lines outside the city of Jammu. Recruiting was commenced; and, at the time of the Deputy Inspector's visit, one hundred and fifty men had been secured. They were, however, not all present; some had left, it is supposed, for their homes. Our informant counted seventy-one Kukas actually present, and noticed that some of them were old men, and a few quite boys.

Híra Singh was stated to be the Commandant, and it was said he was absent recruiting.

The monthly pay of the rank and file was equivalent to ten Chilki rupees—or one rupee in excess of the salary received by the ordinary troops of His Highness the Máhárája: part of the pay was given in flour.

The men had been *drilled, but were not regularly armed.* When they went on parade arms were served out to them; these they gave into store when the manœuvres were over. No uniform had been issued to them.

The Kukas were discontented, and deserted in considerable numbers. On the whole, the Máhárája did not appear pleased with the experiment.

4. Several other persons were despatched to Kashmír to glean tidings of the state of this regiment. It was ascertained that the head-quarters had been removed to Srínagar.

In October we heard that a batch of twenty recruits were on their way; and, somewhat later, that the battalion numbered from 200 to 250 strong. The men were armed and drilled. One Rám Singh, said to have been on leave, was mentioned as the Commandant.

5. From the reports received from time to time during the past year, it would appear that the popularity of the sect is on the decline. It is true that disciples are still added to the faith, but their number is probably more than counterbalanced by secessions.

6. In order to revive his influence, Rám Singh has determined to send a legate to the ruler of Nepál. The District Superintendent of Lahore mentions that Bhagwán Singh very recently arrived here from Bhainí, Rám Singh's residence, entrusted by Rám Singh with Rs. 1,100, to purchase a pair of mules and a couple of buffaloes to be given as "*thaïf*" (a Guru's offering) to the Máhárája.

7. The story amongst the Kukas is, that the Máhárája wrote to Rám Singh and asked him to send some men for the Nepál Regiments. To this Rám Singh is stated to have replied, "I will not yet despatch any Kukas, nor will I come myself, but I send this present."

8. The year has passed without any disturbances on the part of the Kukas, and none of the peculiar offences formerly committed by the sect appear to have been perpetrated by its members.

9. With the freshness of zeal much of the austere character of the reform has departed. The desire for peculiarity seems to have merged into the ambition to be popular. Captain Tait writes that the distinguishing pagrî is no longer worn, and the woollen necklace is concealed beneath the clothes of the wearer.

10. Mr. O'Connor mentions that his conversations with orthodox Sikhs lead him to suppose that much of the hostility formerly existing between them and the Kukas has passed away. He believes that the Sikhs would be only too glad to unite with the Kukas did they see any prospect of the restoration of Khalsa rule. The feeling is embodied in this saying, "After all they are Sikhs, perhaps a little mistaken in their ideas of religion. Rám Singh may be a Guru, but, up to the present time he has shown none of the peculiar characteristics of one, as did Tej Bahádur and Guru Govind."

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Lahore Circle, reports that one of the warmest promoters of the Kuka faith is Diwán Búta Singh, the proprietor of the Aftáb-Punjáb Press, in the Lahore city. The Mahants and súbhas of the sect are constantly with him, and he is consulted in all matters of importance. From this man's antecedents, his adherence to the tenets of this creed from religious motives may well be doubted. Diwán Búta Singh was detected, during the early days of British rule in the Punjab, intriguing with the ex-Ráni Chand Kour, and passed seven years in the Agra Fort as a punishment for his misconduct. He does not bear the character of a well-wisher to the English Government.

12. The novel phase of Kukaism, during the past year, is the enlistment of its disciples in the forces of Native Princes in alliance with Her Majesty, that is, enlistment in Kashmír, and rumoured advances towards this end from the Máháraja of Nepál.

13. The same attitude of quiet observation will be maintained with regard to these enlistments. It is perhaps to be regretted that there is no legislation such as seems to be contemplated by Section 33 of the Foreign Enlistment Act; and that the slight protection afforded by Section 12 of 59 Geo. III., Chapter 69, is abandoned, instead of being made applicable to all foreign Asiatic States, whether at peace or at war with their neighbours, as it is obviously not to the advantage of any Government that a religious leader should possess the opportunity of passing his disciples through the ranks of regiments, from which they can desert whenever their spiritual guide may consider their temporal aid necessary to forward his political aims.

14. Provided the service be short, a large number of Kukas may be drilled and disciplined, to a certain extent, in foreign armies, without any of the risks which accompany such proceedings in British territory, and it is certain they remove themselves, by enlisting under Native Princes, very effectually from any close espionage.

In the Court of the Commissioner and Superintendent (Sessions Judge), Amritsar Division.

The Crown *versus*—1, Fateh Singh; 2, Bíla Singh; 3, Hákim Singh (Patwári); 4, Lehna Singh, son of Dal Singh (Jat), admitted to pardon; 5, Lehna Singh, son of Matsada Singh (Tarkhán); 6, Lál Singh; 7, Lehna Singh, son of Boláka Singh.

Charge against Nos. 1 to 5 under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code.

Charge against Nos. 6 and 7 under Sections 109-302 of the Indian Penal Code.

Judgment.—During the months of April and May considerable excitement had prevailed in the city of Amritsar on the subject of slaughter of kine. Owing, however, to measures taken by the authorities, this, it was believed, had completely died out, when, on the night of Wednesday, the 14th June last, a sudden attack was made on the slaughter-house, near the city, by a party of persons unknown, the results of which were that four persons were killed outright, and three others were severely wounded.

The four killed were Píra, Jíwan, Shádi and Imámi; the three wounded, and who have since recovered from their wounds, are—Karm Dín (witness No. 3), Eláhi Baksh (No. 4), and Khíva (No. 5). The wounds inflicted on these seven men are described in detail by the Civil Surgeon, Doctor A. Taylor (witness No. 1). They were all, he says, such as would be caused by a sharp cutting instrument, such as a sword, axe or gandása (a kind of chopper).

All endeavors to discover the criminals at the time failed. This was due to several causes. The night was dark, the last quarter of the moon having been selected for the commission of the murder, so that not a single one of the murderers had been recognized by any of the survivors. There were no trackers at hand, and no clue had been left by the attacking party beyond a "*chakar*" (quoit or disc of steel worn round the turban by Akálís) and a blue turban which, as will afterwards appear, was left on the spot by the accused with the special design of throwing off suspicion from themselves and casting it on the Akálís. It is almost needless to add that the *ruse* succeeded but too well in diverting suspicion from the real perpetrators of the outrage.

The Police were for a long time entirely at fault, and the clue that was afterwards obtained turned out to be a false one, tempted by the large reward offered. Some of the city badmáshes fabricated a false case, and a number of persons belonging to the city of Amritsar were arrested and committed for trial. But before the trial came on one of the men condemned to death for having taken part in the butcher murder at Raikot, in the Ludiánah district, came forward and offered, if his life were spared, to disclose all the facts of the Amritsar murder. The offer was accepted, and the enquiry which ensued having established the innocence of the persons committed for trial and the falsehood of the evidence on which they had been sent up, the prosecution was withdrawn and they were at once released.

The informer referred to is Guláb Singh (witness No. 6). His statement was taken down in detail on the spot (Raikot) by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Colonel Baillie. In it he gave the names of all the ten men of his sect (Kuka) who were concerned in the murder; described all the circumstances of the crime, and where some of the perpetrators of it had, in their flight, concealed their weapons. His statements in all particulars were found to be true. He was brought to Amritsar, where he arrived on the 2nd August. The next day some of the accused were arrested. On the 4th August Guláb Singh took the Superintendent of the Police, Mr. Turton Smith, witness No. 7, to Mula Chak, and pointed out the places where, he said, the weapons used by Lachman Singh (absconded and still at large) and Lehna Singh (Tarkhán), accused No. 5, would be found. The circumstances attending the finding of these two weapons are so strongly corroborative of the truth of the informer's statements, that they deserve to be stated at length. This can best be done in Mr. Smith's own words. He says—"Guláb Singh pointed out one of the three bhúsa stacks as the one in which Lachman Singh had stuck his sword in his flight after the murder of the butchers. The stack was found partially opened out and some of the bhúsa consumed. The sword was not there. On enquiring from the owner of the stack (Gandu), he at first denied that the sword had ever been there, but after some time, during which he was closely questioned by the Lambardárs, he admitted that he had found the sword in the stack on the morning after the murder of the butchers; that he had at first intended to report the fact to the Lambardárs, but afterwards refrained through fear. Gandu then took the Lambardárs with him to the spot (about 200 yards from the well near the tank of a rájbaha where he had hidden the sword, and there it was found." This in itself was good evidence of the truth of Guláb Singh's story, but there was stronger corroborative evidence still to come. To continue the quotation from the Superintendent of Police's evidence. "Guláb Singh having further said that the hatchet used by Lehna Singh, accused No. 5, would be found in the same well, I sent down divers to search for it. Sháhzáda, diver, brought this axe (No. 2) up." About this time Bíla Singh (accused No. 2), one of the nine named by Guláb Singh as his accomplices in the murder, was arrested and brought in. He confessed, and, on the 7th August, took the Superintendent of Police out to a village called Kowlanwállan, about ten miles from Amritsar, and from a pool of water produced two gandásas (choppers with long handles) which he said had been carried by himself and Mehr Singh (absconded and still at large) on the night of the murder; Lehna Singh, one of the persons named by the informer, also confessed, and on the 9th August, taking the Police Superintendent to the village of Chowindah, about eleven miles from Amritsar, pointed to his bhúsa stacks, in which he said would be found the gandása carried by himself and the sword carried by Jhanda Singh. The stacks were opened out and the weapons found inside. All this was decisive as to the truth of the informer's story and the confessions made by Bíla Singh and Lehna Singh.

It is now time to relate the main facts connected with the murder as gathered from the evidence of the informer Guláb Singh, and that of Lehna Singh, who was committed for trial as accused No. 4, but whom it was considered advisable to admit to pardon and examine as a witness under Section 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code, in order to strengthen the evidence for the prosecution in certain particulars.

One fact comes out with startling clearness from the evidence of these men, corroborated as it is by the confessions of Bíla Singh (accused No. 2), and the testimony given by Ganda Singh (witness No. 9), and Lehna Singh (No. 10), *viz.*, that no step was taken in this murderous outrage without consulting Rám Singh, the leader of the sect to which the accused all belong; and further, that he distinctly encouraged the accused to commit it.

It appears that three separate attempts were made to murder the butchers before the fourth and successful attack of the 14th June, each time something having occurred to postpone the carrying out of the design. There is little doubt that many joined in it most unwillingly, and were only induced to do so from their ignorant fear of the consequences to themselves of offending *their Guru*. The leading men throughout appear to be Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh, of Lopoke (absconded), Guláb Singh (informer), and Fateh Singh (No. 1), who received material assistance from Lál Singh, Police Constable (No. 6), and Lehna Singh (No. 7). The meetings for discussion as to the best means of carrying out the project took place generally at Fateh Singh's shop which is conveniently situated near the Rámbágh gate, and sometimes at the house of Lehna Singh (No. 7), a leading man among the Kukas.

The first attempt was made some twenty days before the final attack, and, before this step was taken, Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh thought it necessary to ascertain the wishes of the Guru (Rám Singh). He encouraged them, and they set off to carry out the design. If we are to believe Guláb Singh, *he was directly instigated by Rám Singh to join in the attack.* He followed Jhanda Singh and Mehr Singh to Lopoke and there talked over the matter with them and Rája Singh. They agreed to provide some of the weapons, and Guláb Singh was sent up to Amritsar to obtain swords through Lál Singh, Police Constable (accused No. 6). It was arranged that they should all meet at a well on the outskirts of the cantonments at the corner of the road to Rámtírath. The attempt on this occasion appears to have failed, owing to the several parties from Lopoke, Thatta and the city having missed each other. Guláb Singh and Lachman Singh are the only persons who appear to have gone to the right place. After waiting a long time they got up and were returning to the city when they came upon Fateh Singh (No. 1), Jowáhar Singh and Lál Singh, (No. 6). This party had with them a number of swords which Lál Singh said had been obtained from the Police Lines. They afterwards all, including Mehr Singh, Jhanda Singh and Lehna Singh (pardoned accomplice, witness No. 8), met at Fateh Singh's (No. 1) shop, and it was then decided to put off the attack for a fortnight, by which time the moon would be in its last quarter and the nights dark.

The second attempt, if it can be called such, was made on Sunday, the 11th. The conspirators assembled at the house of Lehna Singh (accused No. 7); and, to ensure success to their enterprise, a propitiatory burnt sacrifice ("Hom") was offered up, the following being from first to last present:—Bhagwan Singh, Khushál Singh, Sháhbeg Singh, Chatar Singh, Jhanda Singh, Mehr Singh, Lachman Singh, Bíla Singh, Fateh Singh, Lehna Singh (Tarkhán), accused No. 5, and the proprietor of the house. After the sacrifice was over and the sacramental food (kara parshád) distributed, all sallied forth, led by Lachman Singh and Fateh Singh (1): only these two, however, succeeded in getting out of the city, all the rest were stopped by the sentry at the gate by which they were leaving. It should be explained that Lehna Singh (Jat), the pardoned accomplice (witness No. 8), was not present at this meeting.

It was then decided by the leaders, Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh (absconded), to postpone the attack till Tuesday, the 13th, the next day but one. They wished to go home to get some more weapons, and, if possible, *more men*,—the well near cantonments with the trees near it, spoken of by some of the witnesses as Guláb Rai's garden, being again fixed as the rendezvous. On this occasion, the following appear to have assembled:—Jhanda Singh, Mehr Singh, Lehna Singh (Jat), witness No. 8, Hákim Singh Patwári (accused No. 3), Khushál Singh, Sháhbeg Singh, Chatar Singh, Bhagwán Singh, Fateh Singh, Lachman Singh, Bíla Singh, Baghel Singh, and the informer, Guláb Singh. There was some delay on this occasion, and in crossing the Railway line some of the party got separated and some slunk away, not liking the business. Among the latter were Khushál Singh, Sháhbeg Singh, Chatar Singh and Baghel Singh. Owing to these secessions and to Mehr Singh's and Hákim Singh's having become separated from them, the main body, after waiting some time at "Sháh-Mahmúd-ka-awa" (a brick kiln so named), determined on postponing the attack till the following night. They accordingly buried their arms and lay down to sleep. The next morning they returned to the city and passed the day (all but Fateh Singh who went to his shop,) at the Narli Bungah.

The fourth, and this time successful, attempt was made on the 14th June, and the occurrences of this night had best be described in the words of Guláb Singh, whose account is entirely borne out by the evidence of the pardoned accomplice Lehna Singh (witness No. 8) and the confessions of Bíla Singh (accused No. 2) and Lehna Singh (Tarkhán) accused No. 5. Guláb Singh says: "On the afternoon Lachman Singh (absconded) and I started for the appointed rendezvous, the brick kiln. We passed by the slaughter-house and examined it; we then went to a shrine near there called Tapa Ban, where we found Lachman Singh and Lehna Singh (Tarkhán); we left soon after for the brick kiln, arriving there as it was getting dark; the rest dropped in one by one. There were besides the five first accused—1, Fateh Singh; 2, Bíla Singh; 3, Hákim Singh, Patwári; 4, Lehna Singh, Jat; and 5, Lehna Singh Tarkhán; 6, myself; 7, Bhagwán Singh; 8, Mehr Singh; 9, Jhanda Singh; and 10, Lachman Singh. We dug up the

weapons, and Mehr Singh and Hákim Singh brought back their swords from the place where they had hidden them" (see also Lehna Singh's deposition) "and we then waited till the Lahore train came in. Some of us left our clothes at the kiln, while others took their clothes with them. I, Bhagwán Singh, Lachman Singh and Lehna Singh (Tarkhán), took our clothes with us as we intended to go along the Hari-ka-patan road, while the rest had to return by way of the kiln. We then all set off towards the slaughter-house. Approaching quietly and hiding behind the wall, we looked to see if the butchers were asleep; while we were still looking and still in doubt, a dog barked, and this decided us on making the attack without delay. We rushed in and commenced striking right and left. Two men jumped down from the chabútra (raised platform) and ran off. I gave chase, and, overtaking one, struck him a blow on the shoulders. He fell. I turned back and saw a man creeping away along the chabútra. I mounted it and struck him a violent blow with the gandása on the back, he fell and did not rise again. We then ran off as far as the bridge over the city sewer escape. Lehna Singh (Tarkhán), No. 5, Bhagwán Singh, Lachman Singh and Bíla Singh were with me. About a mile from the city Lehna Singh threw his hatchet down a well belonging to the village of Mula Chak, and *Lachman Singh* thrust his sword into a bhúsa *stack close to the well* (where they were found). Bhagwán Singh and I carried our gandásas (choppers) for some distance further, and eventually threw them into a pool of water on the other side of the canal near the village of Gilwáli."

Such is the story of the massacre of the butchers as told by one of the principal actors in it, and, having related it, we must now bring together the evidence bearing on the guilt of each of the six accused separately.

Fateh Singh.

Against Fateh Singh, accused No. 1, there is first the evidence of the two approvers, Guláb Singh and Lehna Singh, (witnesses 6 and 8), who depose to Fateh Singh having taken a leading part in every attempt that was made on the lives of the butchers, to meetings for discussing the project having been repeatedly held at his house, and to his having been present on the occasion of the actual attack on the night of the 14th June 1871. The evidence of these two witnesses is corroborative in certain particulars which directly connect Fateh Singh with the offence charged by the evidence of Ganda Singh, (9), Lehna Singh (10), Mul Singh (13), Wasáwa Singh (14), and Rám Singh (15),—the first two proving that Fateh Singh sent Ganda Singh specially to ascertain Guru Rám Singh's wishes respecting the murder; the next two that meetings to discuss the mode of carrying out the design took place at Fateh Singh's shop. Ganda Singh (9) further deposes to the quoit and blue rag found at the slaughter-house being the property of Fateh Singh; while Rám Singh (15), proves the finding of these the morning after the murder. Against this overwhelming evidence the accused has nothing to set but a simple denial that he took any part in the murder, and an assertion that, after passing the whole day at his shop, he went to his home in the Kanhaiya Katra and slept there throughout the night. To prove this he calls two neighbours, Rám Singh and Lál Singh. The

former cannot remember the date on which the murder took place, and the latter cannot say when Fateh Singh returned home on the night of the murder of the butchers. There can be no doubt whatever of Fateh Singh's guilt.

Bíla Singh.

Bíla Singh, accused No. 2, has made a full confession, which, in all its details, tallies with the accounts of the circumstances connected with the murder given by the two approvers.

Hákim Singh.

Against Hákim Singh, accused No. 3, also the proof adduced is most conclusive and convincing. Besides the evidence given by the approvers, which goes to show that he (Hákim Singh) took part in the third attempt and on the final attack on the butchers, there is the testimony of Fateh Singh, of Marora (witness No. 11), to Hákim Singh having compelled him to join in attempt No. 3, and Hákim Singh's having been absent from his village on the day of the murder of the butchers (Wednesday), and to his not having returned till the following day, Thursday; and there is the evidence of his assistant, Káka (witness No. 12), to Hákim Singh having caused him, Káka, to write up his diary which had been left entirely blank from the 12th March to 4th August 1871; that this was done at one sitting, two days before the Police came to arrest him; that the entries related almost entirely to the Patwári's own movements, the object being to show that he was present at his village (Marora) on the day of the murder of the butchers, and on the day following at another village called Jajja. The mere inspection of the book shows that the entries relating to the period specified were all made in one day. The defence set up by Hákim Singh is that he had been ill from fever continuously for more than two years, and that he was at his village on the night of the murder. He calls nine witnesses to prove this, but not one of them supports his statements; on the contrary, several depose to his being able to go about as usual, and to his *not* having been in the village on the night of the murder. There can be no doubt whatever of this man's guilt, and the fact of his being a Government servant aggravates, if possible, the heinousness of the offence.

Lehna Singh, No. 4.

Lehna Singh, accused No. 4, was, during the trial, admitted to a pardon under Section 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code. He was chosen because he had evidently joined in the attack on the butchers under strong moral compulsion, and because he had not taken any active part in it.

Lehna Singh, No. 5.

Lehna Singh, accused No. 5, put in a plea of not guilty, but afterwards made a statement which amounts to a confession of guilt. He admits that he joined the party which made the attack on the butchers, and that he was on the occasion armed with a hatchet, but he denies that he *struck* a blow. This is not improbable, as he is a man of timid disposition, and joined only under moral compulsion. This, however, though it may palliate, cannot in any way excuse his guilt.

Lál Singh.

There remain the two accused, Lál Singh No. 6, and Lehna Singh No. 7, who are charged with having abetted the commission of the murder. There is not a shadow of doubt as to the guilt of both. As regards the former, there is the evidence of both Guláb Singh and Lehna Singh, approvers, that Lál Singh was one of those concerned in the first attempt on the lives of the butchers; that he actually assisted by obtaining swords for the party from the barracks in which he was on duty; that in restoring them to their places the next day the swords got changed, and his fellow constables began disputing among themselves and accused each other of having taken his sword. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Sergeant of the Guard, Basáwa Singh (16). Again, Mul Singh and Wasáwa Singh (13 and 14), prove that Lál Singh received the conspirators into his house and fed them the day after the failure of the first attempt. This man, it should be added, is the brother of Jowáhar Singh and Lachman Singh, two of those actually concerned in the murder, and it must not be forgotten in awarding punishment that this man is a policeman, *paid by Government to protect life and property.*

Lehna Singh, No. 7.

As regards Lehna Singh, accused No. 7, also, there can be no manner of doubt that he is guilty. Apart from the evidence of Guláb Singh, there is the testimony of Mul Singh (13), and Wasáwa Singh (14), to the whole party of conspirators, the day after the failure of the first attempt, having passed the night at Lehna Singh's house; to the design to murder the butchers having been fully discussed with Lehna Singh; and to his having promised to procure information and to do all in his power to ensure success to the enterprise. Again it is proved by the evidence of the informer, Gúláb Singh, and the *accused's own admission before the committing Magistrate,* that on the night on which the second attempt was about to be made (on Sunday the 11th June) the conspirators all assembled at his house, and the ceremony of "Hom," to ensure success to the enterprise, was gone through, he being present and actually assisting. When to this it is added that this man is one of the leaders of the Kuka sect at Amritsar, the man at whose house the Guru Rám Singh stays whenever he visits Amritsar, and therefore the one most likely to encourage a design which he knew had the support of his spiritual leader; the most sceptical mind must admit that the strongest possible case has been made out against the accused. Against it the prisoner himself has nothing to set but a *denial* that the ceremony of "Hom" took place on the occasion referred to. He has the hardihood to make his denial in the face of his admissions before the committing Magistrate, and not only to do this, but to assert that he was induced to make the admission by the Superintendent of Police on promise of pardon, should he consent. He has called seven witnesses to prove the negative, but not one of them support him, and one, Guláb Singh (the informer), only confirms his statement before made as a witness for the prosecution, to the effect that Lehna Singh was a party to the design to massacre the butchers, and on one occasion caused the sacrifice ("Hom") to be celebrated in order to ensure success to the enterprise.

Sentences.—The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Fateh Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he, Fateh Singh, has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Fateh Singh, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

Fateh Singh.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Bíla Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that Bíla Singh has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Bíla Singh, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

Bíla Singh.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Hákim Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he, Hákim Singh, has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Hákim Singh, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

Hákim Singh.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Lehna Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he, Lehna Singh, has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, the said Lehna Singh, son of Mutsada Singh, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

Lehna Singh, son of Mutsada Singh.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Lál Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he, Lál Singh, has committed the offence of abetment of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Sections 109 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Lál Singh be transported beyond seas for the term of his natural life.

Lál Singh.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, finds that Lehna Singh, son of Boláka Singh, is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he, Lehna Singh, has committed the offence of abetment of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Sections 109 and 302 of the Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Lehna Singh, son of Boláka Singh, be transported beyond seas for the term of his natural life.

Lehna Singh, son of Boláka Singh.

W. G. Davies, *Sessions Judge.*

31*st August* 1871.

CHIEF COURT OF THE PANJAB. REFERENCE SIDE. No. 53 OF 1871. CRIMINAL.

Case referred by Major Davies, Commissioner, Amritsar Division, with his No. 740, dated 1st September 1871, under Section 398, Criminal Procedure Code.

The Crown *versus*—1, Fateh Singh; 2, Bíla Singh; 3, Hákim Singh; 5, Lehna Singh, son of Mutsada Singh.

Charge.—Murder, Section 302, Indian Penal Code.

At a Court of Sessions held at Amritsar for the District of Amritsar, by Major W. G. Davies, Sessions Judge of the Amritsar Division, on the 28th, 29th and 30th days of August 1871, with the aid of Assessors, 1, Fateh Singh; 2, Bíla Singh; 3, Hákim Singh; and 5, Lehna Singh, son of Mutsada Singh; were charged, under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, with the murder of certain butchers at Amritsar. The Court, concurring with the Assessors, found the prisoners guilty of the charge, and sentenced them to death, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, for which the proceedings have now been forwarded.

The facts connected with this atrocious murder and the evidence against the condemned men are very clearly set forth in the judgment of the Sessions Court. Two out of the four men condemned to death acknowledge to have been of the party of murderers; and, after reading the evidence, I see no reason to doubt that the Judge was right in believing it as against the other prisoners sentenced to death. I have therefore no hesitation in confirming the sentences of death passed on Fateh Singh, Bíla Singh, Hákim Singh and Lehna Singh (son of Mutsada Singh).

J. S. CAMPBELL.

9th September 1871.

I confirm the sentence of death passed upon Fateh Singh (1), Bíla Singh (2), Hákim Singh (3), Lehna Singh (5).

C. R. LINDSAY.

11th September 1871.

IN THE COURT OF THE COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT (SESSIONS JUDGE) AMBALAH DIVISION.

The Crown *versus*—1, Mastán Singh; 2, Gurmukh Singh; 3, Mangal Singh; 4 Guláb Singh.

Charge.—Murder of Dasaondhi and Massamát Bassan at Raikot, in the Ludiánah District.

Judgment.—The evidence in this case as regards the history of it depends much upon the evidence of men more or less implicated in the affair. Dal Singh confesses to being one of the actual murderers: he has been offered, and has accepted, pardon under the terms of Section 209, Criminal Procedure Code. Khazán Singh knew of the crime intended, and concealed the swords afterwards. Atar Singh and Jagat Singh, and

Massamát Rám Kour, Dal Singh's wife, knew it was going to be committed. Gurmukh Singh, Rám Singh, Búta Rám and Amar Singh, must have suspected it; it has not been thought advisable to proceed against any of these. Their evidence varies in several particulars, but is the same in the main, and has most evidently not been tutored by the police nor agreed upon among themselves; in fact they had hot disputes in Court over portions of Dal Singh's statements which have generally turned out to be the true ones. The whole of the above-named persons are Kukas, except Rám Singh, and so are all the accused.

It is proved by the evidence of Dal Singh, Massamát Rám Kour, Jagat Singh and Atar Singh, that Dal Singh, Jagat Singh and Atar Singh had several meetings at which the expediency of killing cow-killers at Raikot was discussed. On the day before the day on the evening of which the murder occurred, at about 10 A. M., Atar Singh and Jagat Singh came from their villages of Ranoi and Chouhaki, bringing Guláb Singh with them. Atar Singh admits this. Jagat Singh says he and Guláb Singh came in afterwards. On their arrival at Dal Singh's house in Chíníwál, Massamát Rám Kour, who is also a Kuka, went out and brought in Dal Singh, her husband, and gave them all food; after food Dal Singh went out and brought in Gurmukh Singh with his sword: (No. 7), Gurmukh Singh, a Kuka, admits this. After this they, excepting Gurmukh Singh, went to a neighbour's, Rám Singh's (not a Kuka), and Atar Singh brought some 12 annas worth of gur, and Dal Singh borrowed a sword. Rám Singh denies the matter of the sword. Atar Singh after this left with Jagat Singh. At this point there is a discrepancy. Atar Singh says he went home. Jagat Singh says he went home, but returned the *following* day with *Ratan Singh*, * Naiwála, (a lame man) who rode on a camel, and Bhagwán Singh, and brought them to Khazán Singh's Takia. He sent Khazán Singh to fetch Dal Singh, and the two went off with Dal Singh. He subsequently admits that Lachman Singh and Bír Singh also passed through his house on the way to Chíníwál.

I believe Dal Singh that it *was* the day above-mentioned (and this is supported by Atar Singh) and that Jagat Singh on leaving the village went to a place of meeting in the jungle and brought in Ratan Singh, Naiwála, on his camel, and three strangers of Amritsar District, called or known by the names of Bhagwán Singh, Lachman Singh and Bír Singh, all Kukas. Guláb Singh was then called by Dal Singh and the party started, Jagat Singh going into the village (Chíníwál) and stopping the night at Dal Singh's house. Massamát Rám Kour states that at starting next morning he told her to expect the *Pitokí* men, *i. e.*, Mastán Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Mangal Singh, accused, and to send them to Boparai jungle. Jagat Singh denies this.

To return to the party starting with the camel. They consisted of Ratan Singh, who rode the camel, Dal Singh who tells the story, Guláb Singh, and the three Amritsar men. There seems to have been 8 swords on the camel, besides the three Dal Singh had. The party

* Ratan Singh is a well-known retainer or Kuka Súbha in this part of the country.

then went towards Boparai, where, leaving the others behind, Ratan Singh on his camel, with Dal Singh and Bhagwán Singh, went into the village, woke up Amar Singh, Kuka, and left 4 swords with him. Amar Singh admits this, but does not mention Bhagwán Singh. Dal Singh states that Ratan Singh then left to see what the *Pitokí* men were doing; saying he would bring them, he went along to Boparai. The party then went on apparently with three swords, Ratan Singh having carried off the rest. They went through the jungle not far from Raikot and on to Tájpúr, where they arrived about sunrise. It was necessary to conceal their swords and to get food. Dal Singh and Bír Singh went to Búta Rám, a Sád, and asked if he might bring in the swords and the other men. Dal Singh returned and brought in the swords and Guláb Singh and Lachman Singh, and presently Bhagwán Singh followed. About noon, having eaten and drank, they left, the four Amritsar men (for Guláb Singh properly belonged to Amritsar) going out by the door; Dal Singh, with the three swords concealed down his back under a blanket, went through a hole in the back of the house into the jungle. This was *entirely* confirmed by Búta Rám before the Magistrate, and he has also int his Court told the same story, with this exception, that he did not know they were swords,—only saw a parcel in a blanket.

The four Amritsar men took the road and went right through the town of Raikot to a kíkar tree on the road from Raikot to Jaláldiwál and Chíníwál, where they were met by Dal Singh, who had come round through the jungle with the swords. They then hid the swords in the furrows of a field and dispersed a little to escape observation. Dal Singh says he went off to Boparai and waited till dusk, when he went into Amar Singh's house. During the afternoon a constable returning from Chíníwál to Raikot saw four Kukas by a tank looking so excited and singing and shaking their bare heads, that he was frightened, hid his sword under his arm and passed by at a distance. He does not recognize Guláb Singh as one of the four, nor yet the other accused.

I return to Dal Singh. Amar Singh went out to bathe, and Dal Singh states returned with the news that the Pitokí men had arrived. At all events, by the admission of Amar Singh, the four swords were taken out with some food to a party of 5 men at an outlying well. Amar Singh says he saw they were Kukas, and that Dal Singh told him three were Pitokí men and two Manja Sikhs. Dal Singh says the three Pitokí men were the three accused, Mastán Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Mangal Singh. The 2 Manja men were Bír Singh and Bhagwán Singh, who had come up. It is necessary here to trace the Pitokí men up to this point. From the evidence of Khazán Singh and Massamát Rám Kour it is proved, and the accused admit that they arrived (according to Khazán Singh shortly after sunrise, according to them about 11 a. m.,) at Khazán Singh's Takia, had their dinner at Rám Kour's, and left shortly before sunset. Massamát Rám Kour and Khazán Singh say that *Ratan Singh* was with them, and before the Magistrate Mangal Singh admitted that he saw a man whom he was told was Ratan Singh at the Takia, but before this Court they do not

mention Ratan Singh. To return to the well near Boparai—Amar Singh took his dishes and returned home. Dal Singh states that he and his 5 companions went to the kíkar tree and called Gulab Singh, and Lachman Singh answered and came up; they then divided some gur Bír Singh had in his pagri, washed their hands in sand, and went on. The party now numbered 8. A little further on they took off their superfluous clothes and shoes, and went on down the Jaláldiwál and Raikot road, crossed the fields near two wells into the Dadhal and Raikot road, which is a hollow lane, then full of water, and runs end on against the butchers' houses. They here agreed that if they were heard going through the water they should say they were camelmen. They then went through the water, saw a number of people on chárpais in front of the houses, and set on them. Dal Singh states he hit something,—man, woman or child,—twice, got frightened, and went back, and stood by the water. There was now an outcry, and they all ran off through the water up the lane, across the fields, but at this side of the walls into the Jaláldiwál road picked up and put on their shoes, and went on to Jaláldiwál, where they found Ratan Singh waiting for them with his camel under some trees. Somewhat beyond, the Pitokí men left them, going through the jungle,—two of them giving Dal Singh their swords, Mangal Singh keeping his. At a pípal tree further on, Bír Singh, Guláb Singh and Lachman Singh gave their swords to him, and kept on right through Chíníwál. He, Ratan Singh and Bhagwán Singh stopped to drink and get rid of their swords at Khazán Singh's Takia, Ratan Singh giving two, and Bhagwán Singh one, sword to Khazán Singh. Khazán Singh's story differs considerably from this. He says it was the three Pitokí men who were with Ratan Singh; but, as it was pitch dark, blowing a dust storm, and Ratan Singh was the only one who spoke,—and he is himself a stupid old fellow, and must have been greatly frightened, and, moreover, denies Dal Singh's presence, of which there can be no doubt,— I believe he has no distinct recollection of the matter beyond having had three swords to bury, two of which he placed under the thorn hedge round his Takia, and the third out in the sand heaps. Dal Singh, having given back Rám Singh his sword, took the rest to his house, and, on the trackers coming to the village, buried the swords under the stack, where they were eventually found.

To return to the scene of the murders. The butchers' huts, which were placed there by Mr. Ricketts some time in 1856, stand by themselves some 200 yards from the town wall, and still more from the nearest gate: the Thanah must be a quarter of a mile off. I have been all over the ground and seen the tracks as far as the kíkar trees. On the night in question several Gujars, male and female, were guests of the two butcher families; one of the butchers was absent in Ludiánah, appealing against an order of the Tahsildár fining him for throwing carcases into the pool near the house; but I do not think there was any serious grievance between them and the Khatrís of Raikot. Ranga, Massamát Norí, and Nabia were on the roofs of the houses; the rest on chárpais below. Those above-named state they were roused about 11 P. M. by the noise of blows, flash of swords, screams, &c. They jumped down, and the two latter ran screaming off to the Thanah, being met on the road

by the Daffadár of Chaukídárs, who was prompt in his succour. When they got back to the spot the assailants were gone. A clever native Hakím, Alia, was soon on the spot. He deposes that Dasaondhi and Massamát Bassan died almost immediately, and Ranja, aged 4 years, died on the 4th day, and that six others were most severely wounded, losing arms, fingers and toes : one was wounded in 10, another in 13, places. All the wounds, except three, which seemed to have been done with a square-headed wood axe, were caused by sword-cuts.

The night was so stormy that it was impossible to go after the murderers at that time. Next morning two trackers, Bhanga Singh and Bhúpa, were started on the tracks, which were clearly those of 8 men without shoes, for some distance along the Jaláldiwál road to a point where 7 of them put on their shoes. At Jaláldiwál they made a circuit to avoid the village, and among the sandhills two tracks were lost; the remainder ran on to Chíníwál, and were lost within 20 paces of Khazán Singh's Takia. Owing to the wind storm which was still going on, and the sandy broken nature of the ground, the tracking beyond Jaláldiwál seems to have been most difficult; and when the trackers say that six tracks were carried up to Chíníwál they may well be mistaken in one or two, as they only picked up a footstep they recognized now and again. The trackers have since compared the foot-prints of the 4 accused with the tracks close to the spot, and swear that 4 of the tracks are those of accused,—Dal Singh's being that which went without shoes the whole way.

Enquiries were verbally made from Khazán Singh, who first said that three Kukas had passed his Takia towards Raikot; then said they belonged to Pitokí; then gave their names and showed where the swords were hid. 1, 2 and 3, the Pitokí men, were then seized, and Khazán Singh gave information regarding Dal Singh, who was seized, brought before the Magistrate at Bassian, and then sent back to point out where he had hid the six swords. This he did in the presence of Faiz Ali Khán and other witnesses, who swear to there being blood on three swords, quite fresh, with sand sticking to it. They found also a small piece of skin or flesh on one of the sword handles; a *chadar*, with pieces torn out and marks that look like washed-out blood,—also a *kurta* with one suspicious mark on it—also an axe handle—were found in Gurmukh Singh's house at Pitokí. But I place little weight on the two latter. After producing the swords, Dal Singh made his confession. Guláb Singh was seized at his village, Chúr Chak, on the 23rd on Dal Singh's information.

The defence of the three Pitokí men is the same. They say they left their village, making Bhaini the third day; have no witnesses of that part of their journey, stayed at Bhaini till the third day, seeing the Guru and his Súbhas. Both Guru and Súbhas deny having seen them at all of late. One of the accused, Mangal Singh, says he consulted the Guru about *drowning* his rich son,—a fact the Guru would not fail to have remembered. Leaving Bhaini in the afternoon, they reached Bánpúr and slept there. Next morning, or rather shortly after midnight, they marched right through to Chíníwál, arriving at 11 A. M.; spent the day at Khazán Singh's Takia, eating at Massamát Rám Kour's; start again

about sunset, and spend that night in the jungle near Raisin, where they had Kuka friends, instead of going into the village; and reached their own village, they say, shortly after sunrise; and do not see any one until about 10 A. M.. Their stories vary in many particulars; moreover, they named no witnesses before the Magistrate, though duly asked if they wished to do so. At the close of the case, Gurmukh Singh was asked if he wished the two witnesses he had lately named sent for, and said—" What is the use" Mangal Singh has named two witnesses at the last moment—both Kukas; but he wants them to prove that he had been to Bhaini, which is quite immaterial to the case; and, as neither of them saw him till 10 A. M., if then, that, if admitted, would not prove an *alibi*, which in fact was not what he thought of proving. I have therefore not thought it necessary to delay the case three days more. The distance from Raikot to Pitokí is not above 34 miles, and could easily be done by such men as these between 11 A. M., and 8 P. M. at 4 miles an hour.

To consider their whole story, then, it is clear that their going to Bhaini or not is immaterial. I do not believe that they did, but it is sufficient that they admit staying the whole day before the murder at Chíníwál, and are fed by the wife of one of the murderers; that they leave the village at a suitable time to commit the murder, and not at the time travellers would have started; and then pass the night in the jungle close to a friendly village,—the night being a most tempestuous one. Their defence has therefore entirely failed.

The evidence against them is the direct statement of Dal Singh, corroborated to a great extent by his wife, by Bhagwán Singh, and again, in an indirect manner, by Amar Singh, and, lastly, by the evidence of the trackers, which I consider of considerable weight, as though the last part of the journey was in bad soil, that near the butchers' huts, where the tracks were of naked feet, was favorable, being either hardening mud or smooth cultivated ground.

The marks on the *chadar* have not been proved to be blood, but the fact of the way in which it has been freshly torn into holes is most suspicious.

I have no hesitation in finding Mastán Singh, Gurmukh Singh, and Mangal Singh guilty of the offence charged.

With regard to Guláb Singh—his defence is that he was at Bhaini at the time of the murder. The evidence of his Guru is distinctly against this; his assertion of borrowing Rs. 5 from Gopál Singh is disproved by the latter,—in fact, he is quite unable to account for himself at the time of the murder.

The evidence against Guláb Singh is the direct evidence of Dal Singh, supported by that of his wife, Rám Kour. This evidence of Jagat Singh, Atar Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Búta Rám proves clearly that he was going about with the armed party of murderers the day preceding and the day of the murder. His foot-prints are also sworn to by the trackers. (I should mention that Bhanga Singh, tracker, was shut up in a room by the Magistrate, while some ground was prepared and the 4 accused marched across it, and that the tracker was able to name each foot-print without the least hesitation.)

The evidence against Guláb Singh I consider most conclusive, and find him guilty of the offence charged.

I sentence the accused, Mastán Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Mangal Singh and Guláb Singh, to be hanged by the neck till they are dead, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court.

27th July 1871. J. W. MACNABB, *Sessions Judge.*

CHIEF COURT OF THE PUNJAB,—REFERENCE SIDE,—CRIMINAL.

Case referred by Mr. J. W. Macnabb, Sessions Judge, Ambálah Division.

The Crown *versus*, 1, Mastán Singh; 2, Gurmukh Singh; 3, Mangal Singh; 4, Guláb Singh.

Charge.—Murder of Dasaondhi and Massamát Bassan at Raikot, in the Ludiánah District.

At a Court of Sessions held at Bussian, near Raikot, in Ludiánah, for the District of Ludiánah, by Mr. J. W. Macnabb, Sessions Judge of the Ambálah Division, on the 27th day of July 1871, with the aid of four assessors, the Court, concurring with the assessors, found the prisoners guilty of the charge, and sentenced them to death, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, for which the proceedings have now been forwarded.

In the outskirts of the large village, or *kasbah*, of Raikot, a hamlet of butchers' huts has existed since 1856, where they were allowed to be erected, as the evidence shows, by the District Officer of that day.

For some time past, according to the evidence, some feeling has been shown against the persons engaged in the trade of beef butchers at Raikot—(See the evidence of Dal Singh, No. 4, as to what occurred at the meetings and at the Kohtha Mela; also that of Ranja, No. 1).

Intimation is said to have been given to the butchers of the hamlet that they had better close their business some time before the murder, and threatening language held—(See Ranja, No. 1).

Moreover, Búta, one of the butchers, had been recently fined 10 rupees upon a charge of throwing a carcase into a pond near the slaughter-house; whereas, according to Ranja, the charge was false, and the bones of cattle were either burned or buried on the butchers' premises. But whether the above details are true or not, the following general facts are plain.

On the night of the 16th July, two persons who were passing the night as guests with the butchers, *viz.*, Dasaondhi, Gújar and Mussamát Bassan, his wife, were killed by blows of sharp instruments, inflicting incised wounds some eight or ten inches long, and so severe as to cause death in both cases (within a few minutes, if not) instantaneously. As to this the evidence of Alia, the barber, and the Sub-Assistant Surgeon are not quite in accord, but the difference is not material.

At the same time, Hauri, a woman of about 40 years; Bania, a girl of 8 or 9; Rangha, a boy of 3 years; an infant three weeks old; Huku,

a man of 30, in all about 10 persons,—were cut and gashed with incised wounds in all directions—(See the evidence of Sub-Assistant Surgeon H. C. Banarjí).

The evidence of several witnesses (1, 2, 3) establishes that a sudden attack was made by a party of men upon the hamlet about 11 P. M. The night was dark and tempestuous. None of them could be identified, and several of the butchers who were sleeping on the roofs of the hut, and out of the way of the assailants, jumping down, ran towards the Thanah. The Daffadár of Chaukídárs, Ahmed Khán, who was then on his rounds, having heard cries from the direction of the butchers' huts, ran quickly to the spot, whence the murderers had then gone. Torches were fetched, but were useless on account of the storm. A village surgeon, Alia, witness 7, began dressing the wounds; and, investigation on account of the weather being useless that night, tracking was commenced in the morning. (Bhanga Singh, 18, and Bhúpa 19).

The sole question in this case is whether the investigation which then began has resulted in the conviction of the real offenders; for the main portion of the evidence is given by Dal Singh under a conditional pardon (Section 209) to which he was admitted after his arrest, which was brought about in the following way.

Starting from the end of a lane leading down upon the butchers' hamlet, the trackers traced the foot-marks of eight men to the Takia of Khazán Singh. Khazán Singh, in the presence of Mokal Hussain, a Thanahdár belonging to Patiála, witness 6, and Manam Khán, 7, a Lambardár of Dhuner, also a Patiála subject, produced three swords, and named three men of Pitokí, besides Dal Singh, of Chíníwál, and Ratan, of Naiwála, as the actual perpetrators. Dal Singh was then arrested, and commenced a series of admissions which have ended in his giving his evidence under conditional pardon. Dal Singh showed the Police where more swords were concealed. According to the evidence of Manam Khán, these swords were bloody.

Khazán Singh, witness 13 for prosecution, admitted that the accused were at his house a few hours before, and also a short time after the murder. He states that they informed him they had done their work, and, as the Sessions Judge observes, this witness seems to have known of the intended murder and of its perpetration.

Amar Singh, 14, corroborates the statement as to the intention to attack the butchers, but his evidence chiefly relates to Dal Singh, whose evidence, however, as to Ratan Singh accompanying him on a camel it confirms, as well as the fact of Dal Singh's collecting swords. Massamát Rám Kour's evidence also is strongly corroborative of her husband's statement. She names all four of the accused as having been to Dal Singh's house, and having returned to Khazán Singh's Takia on the day before the murder.

Mastán Singh says that he put up at Khazán Singh's Takia; Khazán Singh told him to go to Dal Singh's for food, which he did, after which he slept in the jungle.

Gurmukh Singh admits that he passed through Raikot on the day of the murder, and says that he went on by Jaláldiwál, starting at 12 o'clock on the night of the murder; he also, according to his own account, slept for an hour or two on a sand billock on that night. Guláb Singh failed also to account for his whereabouts; and Mangal Singh admits having passed Raikot about the time, and having been to Khazán Singh's Takia, and also been out in the jungle and reached home just before his arrest.

Upon the whole case there seems to be sufficient corroboration of the statements of Dal Singh as to the persons whom he names, whilst there certainly is as to the facts which he states. I am of opinion that the sentences passed by the Sessions Judge on all the prisoners sentenced by him should be confirmed.

1st *August* 1871. C. BOULNOIS.

I CONCUR in holding that the evidence is conclusive as to the guilt of the prisoners. The sentences of death passed on Mastán Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Mangal Singh, and Guláb Singh, are accordingly confirmed.

1st *August* 1871. J. S. CAMPBELL.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah. | To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

Two hundred Kukas attacked Malodh fort last night, wounded Sirdár Badan Singh, and killed two men. One Kuka killed and two captured. I go out at once. Particulars by post.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli. | To—The Home Secretary, Government of India, Calcutta.

DEPUTY Commissioner, Ludiánah, telegraphs following (above message repeated). The crime shows great boldness on part of Kukas. Máharája of Patiála concurs with Lieutenant-Governor in considering it serious. Measures to be taken will be detailed on receipt of Commissioner's report.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah. | To—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., Commissioner of Ambálah, Dehli.

MALER Kotla attacked by five hundred Kukas this morning. Eight or ten killed. Send troops sharp.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli. | To—The Maharaja of Patiála, Ambálah.

(To be given to His Highness at the Ambálah Station.)

Maler Kotla attacked this morning by some five hundred Kukas. Eight or ten killed.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli. | To—The Deputy Commissioner, Ambálah.

MEET Maharaja of Patiála at Railway Station to-night; inform him that five hundred Kukas have attacked Maler Kotla; seven men killed.

Telegram, dated 15th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli. | To—All Commissioners, and Deputy Commissioners, Ambálah.

A BODY of Kukas, said to be two hundred in number, attacked the Sikh fort of Malodh, in Ludiánah, last night. One or two killed and wounded on either side. Maler Kotla attacked this morning by Kukas. The Lieutenant-Governor enjoins all vigilance.

Letter, dated 15th January 1872.

From—LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, Commander-in-Chief. | To—The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, Dehli.

THE following arrangements are made:—

Ordered by telegram two Companies of the 54th Foot, equipped for service, with tentage, &c., from Jálandhar to Ludiánah by rail, followed by a half Battery of Royal Artillery under escort of a third Company of the 54th.

The following will proceed from hence immediately:—1st Goorkhas, Wing of the 72nd, Mountain Train, by rail to Khanna-ke-Sarai to await orders. Carriage should be collected there. Quantity required will be noted, but meantime collection should go on.

It would be desirable to send a Troop with them of the 12th Bengal Cavalry by rail, if possible, to be ready to act rapidly. Endeavour will be made to do so.

General Tytler, at Ambálah, will arrange the details for a sudden capture of Ram Singh.

The information of carriage required will be sent to you as soon as possible.

Telegram, dated Rajpura, 17th January 1872.

From—The Maharaja of Patiála. | To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

Two hundred camels and twenty elephants have been ordered to be sent at once to Khanna from my establishment present here; for the rest of the carriage the Naib Nazim of Bassi has been enjoined to procure as many camels and carts as possible with the least delay; the Rája of Nábha has also been addressed on the subject.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—M. MORRIS, Esq., Personal Asst., Lahore.

To—Colonel HUTCHINSON, Inspector-General, Police, Dehli.

DISTRICT Superintendent, Ludiánah, reports that two hundred Kukas attacked Maler Kotla fort. Few killed and wounded on both sides. Thousands are assembling in neighbouring villages to re-attack. Civil Officer informed Government.

Telegram, dated Molan Kallee, 16th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq.

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

DON'T send troops. I have sent for some Cavalry from Nawab. Two Kukas killed and four captured at Modondli. A great number surrounded at Katta.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Commissioner, Ludiánah.

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

COWAN reports disturbance entirely ended, and no troops now required. Rám Singh has been ordered in.

Cypher Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab.

To—His Excellency the Viceroy, Calcutta.

ATTACK on *Maloudh* by *Kukas* already reported was followed next morning by one on *Maler Kotla ; seven* inhabitants thereof killed. Number of *Kukas five hundred.* In compliance with requisition of Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah for troops, one Regiment Native Infantry, Wing of Europeans, Detachment of Cavalry leave this morning for *Khanna,* between *Ambálah* and *Ludiánah.* Deputy Commissioner has since telegraphed that a great number of *Kukas* have been surrounded at *Maler Kotla,* and that he has got Cavalry from Nawab, but I have not stopped troops going. Following on antecedents, these outrages show incorrigible conspiracy in leaders of sect. Country not safe whilst leaders at large. I have therefore authorized *Forsyth* to effect *capture of Ram Singh* and *principal Subahs.* Report by post.

No. 9C., dated Delhi, 16th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department

I AM directed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward copies of telegrams, the purport of which have already been communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy.

2. It will be seen that on the night of the 14th an attack was made by a party of Kukas, estimated about 200, on the fort of Malodh, situated about 20 miles south of Ludiánah, belonging to the Malodh Sirdars, Sikh Chiefs of approved loyalty and service. One or two casualties occurred on either side, and the son of Sirdar Mith Singh, by name Badan Singh, a Jagirdar Magistrate, was wounded. The object of the attack was presumably to obtain arms, but no details have yet been received. On receipt they will be at once communicated.

3. The next morning a larger force of Kukas, 500 in number, attacked the fort of the large town of Kotla, capital of the Muhammadan State of Maler Kotla, about 30 miles south of Ludiánah. Some seven or eight persons were killed by the assailants, who appear to have been beaten off with some casualties. A telegram from Lahore mentions that thousands of Kukas are assembling in the neighbouring villages to re-attack. This statement is probably exaggerated, and this morning the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah reports that two Kukas were killed and four captured, while a large number have been surrounded at Kattá, which may be a misspelling for Kotla.

4. On the news of the attack on Malodh, the Lieutenant-Governor at once deputed Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B., Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, to Ludiánah to report at once the measures advisable to adopt; but before the departure of the train the second report of the attack on Maler Kotla was received.

5. The aspect of affairs had now changed by the second attack by a larger force following the first with so much rapidity, and it was certain that, unless immediate and active measures were taken, the numbers of the insurgents would rapidly increase. What might have been an isolated attack by a small party of fanatics was now unmistakably proved to be an organized conspiracy on the part of a formidable sect to disturb the peace of the country. The number of insurgents in arms was rapidly increasing, and it was imperatively necessary to act with decision and without a moment's delay, and thus prevent a movement, unimportant in its origin, from becoming of the gravest character. The antecedents of Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, and his lieutenants are well known to the Government of India, and they were such that no reasonable doubt or shadow of doubt could exist that the attacks on Malodh and Maler Kotla were the direct results of their orders and advice.

6. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor at once conferred with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and it was arranged that the 1st Goorkhas, a wing of the 72nd Regiment and a mule battery should proceed to Khanna, the nearest station to Kotla, to act under the orders of General Tytler, Commanding the Ambálah Division, when necessary. A troop of the 12th Bengal Cavalry accompanied them. Ludiánah, which is now unprotected, will be strengthened by three companies of the 54th Foot from Jálandhar and a half Battery of Royal Artillery.

7. The Lieutenant-Governor has directed the arrest of Ram Singh, and of his principal and most influential Subahs, Sahib Singh, Rúr Singh, Lakka Singh, Kahn Singh, Brahma Singh, Jowahir Singh, Malúk Singh, Mán Singh, and Hukma Singh. The arrest of Ram Singh

will be effected as rapidly as possible, the details of the capture being arranged by General Tytler in communication with the Commissioner of the division.

8. The men above named, if arrested, will be at once forwarded to Allahabad, as His Honor does not consider it advisable to retain them in the Punjab. Regarding their future destination, the Lieutenant-Governor will make further recommendations; but he now requests the issue by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council of warrants under Regulation III. of 1818 against all the men above mentioned.

9. So little information has been received as yet that it is difficult to form any conclusions as to the course the Kukas are now likely to adopt. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor has, however, every hope that the measures taken by him will restore confidence and tranquillity to the country at once. He is convinced of their necessity, and trusts that they may receive the full concurrence of His Excellency the Viceroy.

(Confidential.)

No. 10 C., dated Dehli, 16th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab
To—Inspector-General of Police, Punjab

Sahib Singh.
Rúr Singh.
Lakka Singh.
Kahn Singh, *alias* Nihang Singh.
Brahma Singh.
Jowahir Singh.
Malúk Singh.
Mán Singh.
Hukma Singh.
Pahara Singh.

I am directed by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to request that immediate steps be taken to arrest the men marginally noted, all well known Subahs of Rám Singh, Kuka, of Bhaini. Their arrest should be carried out as speedily as possible, due precautions being taken in every case against resistance or escape. Each should, when arrested, be forwarded to Allahabad, the Government of the North-Western Provinces having been addressed to detain them in the Central Jail at that station for the present.

Nos. 11-14.

Copy to Commissioners, Lahore, Amritsar, Jálandhar, and Ambálah, for information and guidance.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Inspector-General of Police, Dehli | To—Colonel Baillie, Police, Ludiánah.

By Lieutenant-Governor's orders arrange with Menzies and District Superintendents for the immediate arrest of the leaders Sahib Singh, Rúr Singh, his brother, Lakka Singh, Kahn Singh, *alias* Nihang Singh, Brahma Singh, Jawahir Singh, Maluk Singh, Man Singh, Hukma Singh; as each is arrested send him at once to Allahabad Jail under European officer. If any doubt as to identity, telegraph to me.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiála,	To—The Secretary to Government, Punjab,
From—Rajpúrah.	To—Dehli.

RECEIVED your telegram through Captain Beadon, Deputy Commissioner, Ambálah, and just received a note from the Judge, Small Cause Court, Ludiánah, regarding the Kukas; so I have accordingly sent 200 foot and 200 cavalry and two tops (guns) under the command of Sardár Ranjít Singh, Colonel, to assist Mr. Cowan, and to protect Rais of Kotla.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab,	To—The Máharaja,
From—Dehli.	To—Patiála.

HIS Honor the Lieutenant-Governor conveys thanks to your Highness for the action which you have taken.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Home Secretary,	To—The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab,
From—Calcutta.	To—Dehli.

YOUR telegram of yesterday received. It is very desirable that the most experienced officer available should be sent to the spot to enquire into the matter. It is of the utmost importance that the whole facts of the case should be thoroughly sifted and ascertained without delay; so that there can be no possible chance of the Government being misinformed as to the causes which occasioned, and the persons engaged in, this most serious outrage.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From--The Deputy Commissioner,	To—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab,
From—Malodh.	To—Dehli.

THE enquiry progresses. The whole facts, and I hope the names of all engaged, will be discovered. I go on to Kotla to-night or to-morrow; it is not known yet with certainty where the Kuka rebels are.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Viceroy,	To—The Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab,
From—Calcutta.	To—Dehli.

YOUR action entirely approved. We shall be anxious to hear further particulars.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—Cowan,
From—Malodh, *viâ* Ludiánah.
To—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab,
To—Dehli.

Against four of the Malodh murderers the proof is convincing; allow me to execute them on the spot. It is of importance that the punishment should be prompt. I go on to Kotla.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The Secy. to Government, Punjab,
From—Dehli.
To—The Deputy Commissioner,
To—Ludiánah.

Your telegrams give no information; make them fuller, and write daily. No excuse will be listened to.

(Confidential.)

No. 15C., dated 17th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., *Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,*
To—*The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.*

I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to request that the name of Pahára Singh, omitted by mistake from my letter No. 9C., of yesterday, may be added to those of the Kuka leaders for whom warrants are required under Regulation III. of 1818.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Secretary to Government, Punjab,
From—Dehli.
To—Tne Secretary to Govt., N. W. P.,
To—Allahabad.

The Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, requests Sir William Muir to be so good as to issue immediate orders to receive in the Allahabad Jail ten leaders of the Kukas who are about to be sent out of the Punjab. More by post. The detention at Allahabad will only be temporary, but precautions against rescue will be necessary.

(Confidential.)

No. 17C., dated 17th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government, N. W. P.

I am directed, in continuation of my telegrams of this date, to forward, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, on the subject of Kuka outrages in the Punjab. His Excellency the Viceroy has expressed full approval of the measures taken, and I am to request you to move Sir William Muir to issue early orders to the authorities at Allahabad to

receive into the Central Jail the Kuka leaders mentioned in the letter till such time as their final destination is decided upon. The influence of Ram Singh over his followers is, as Sir William Muir is aware, very great, and exceptional precautions against rescue or escape His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor will no doubt consider to be necessary.

No. 18C., dated 17th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 9C., dated yesterday, I am desired to forward, for information, copy of the first report received from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah on the recent outbreak of the Kukas.

No. 14, dated Ludiánah, 15th January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

Late on the night of the 13th instant, Sarfraz Khan, Deputy Inspector of Police at Sanehwal, came in and reported that on the same day a gang of about 100 Kukas of the Patiála State, who had gone to Bhainí to be present at the " Maghi Melâ" held there, a small gathering (at which probably 500 persons assembled) had worked themselves into a state of frenzy, and declared that they would be revenged for the death of Gyaní, a culprit who was hanged at Ludiánah last month. Sarfraz Khan was present at Bhaini when this occurred. He stated to me that Ram Singh, the leader of the Kukas, went up to these men with a turban round his neck and entreated of them not to create a disturbance; that they would not listen to him; and that Rám Singh then came to the Deputy Inspector and reported to him that these men were up to mischief, and that he had no control over them. This occurred about 2 P. M. on the 13th. Ram Singh named Híra Singh and Lena Singh, of Sakroudi, in the Patiála State, as the leaders of this gang. Soon after the gang left Bhainí, and the Deputy Inspector, notwithstanding the gravity of the report made to him, thought it sufficient to tell off a Sergeant of Police to see the gang out of our territory. The Sergeant returned a few hours afterwards and reported that the gang had entered the Patiála State, and had gone in the direction of Rampur. Not till then did the Deputy Inspector come into Ludiánah with a report of the affair. I should mention that the Kukas are said to have declared their intention of proceeding to Maler Kotla.

2. I immediately warned the vakils of Patiála and Kotla, and noticed to the District Superintendent of Police the gross negligence of the Deputy Inspector in not having had this gang followed up and watched.

3. Information has just reached me that last night about 7 P. M., a gang of 200 Kukas attacked the residence of Sardár Badan Singh at Maloudh, wounded the Sardár, and killed two men and carried off two or three horses; of the attacking party ten are said to have been wounded. In this affair one of the attacking party was killed, and two have been captured. Sardár Badan Singh is related to the Maharajah of Patiála, and it is probably in revenge for the assistance rendered by the Maharajah in the butcher murder cases that this attack has been made on his relative. If it be true that some of Sardár Badan Singh's horses have been carried off, this is not a pleasant feature; for it denotes that some other atrocity is in contemplation. I go out at once to Maloudh to make enquiry into this case, and shall report to you all that I discover. A copy of this letter will be sent to the Secretary to Government, Punjab.

P. S.—Intimation has been sent to the Maharajah of Patiála by letter and telegram, informing him that Hira Singh and Lehna Singh of Sakroudi are the reported leaders, and asking him to have them captured and give assistance. I have summoned Ram Singh and his chief Subahs to Maloudh, to make such enquiries as will, I hope, lead to the identification of all concerned.

No. 41, dated Ludiánah, the 15th January 1872.

COPY of above forwarded to Secretary to Government, Punjab.

No. 19C., dated 17th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I AM desired to acknowledge the receipt, direct, of copy of letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, to your address, No. 14, dated 15th January, reporting on the Kuka outbreak, and to communicate the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor's approval of the measures taken by Mr. Cowan.

No. 21C.

EXTRACTS paras. 1 and 2 of Mr. Cowan's letter to Inspector-General, Police, for explanation regarding Sarfraz Khan.

Telegram, dated 16th January 1872.

From—The District Superintendent, Police, Ludiánah. | To—The Inspector-General, Police, Lahore.

REPORT from Kotla-Maler states that the Kukas have all left that place, and are now congregating at Ruhr, in Patiála, 5 or 6 kos from Kotla. All the men from Hurari, Firozpur, are to join. I remain here by orders of Deputy Commissioner. Very short of men. Please order sowars.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Commissioner, From—Ludiánah.	To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

THE European companies from Jálandhar have arrived. All quiet here. 70 Kukas, many severely wounded after Kotla fight, were seized at Sherpur, in Patiála territory; probably these are all; former number evidently exaggerated; by native reports Ram Singh was with Cowan to-day, and has now been sent for to come in here.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Commissioner, From—Ludiánah.	To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

REFERRING to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men—since then we have got seventy men. I am on the spot and can dispose of the cases according to form and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed; Lakka Singh apprehended; shall be sent off when Ram Singh comes.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—The Commissioner, To—Ludiánah.

WITH reference to your telegram regarding execution of rebels, Lieutenant-Governor concurs with you. He, however, approves Mr. Cowan's energy and zeal.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Máharája of Patiála, From—Rajpúrah.	To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

YESTERDAY, at 11 A. M., Syad Niaz Ally, Naib Nazim of Amarghar, arrested, with only a few men with him, with great courage, 68 Kukas who made disturbance at Kotla and Maloudh. Among them there are 29 wounded men. Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, their leaders, have also been apprehended. More by dák.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—The Maharaja, To—Patiála.

YOUR Highness's telegram received. The services of your officials acknowledged with the thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor, who requests your Highness to endeavour to discover the real cause of the outbreak.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—Colonel BAILLIE, | To—Col. HUTCHINSON, Inspector-General, Police,
From—Ludiánah. | To—Dehli.

SIXTY-EIGHT rioters arrested in Patiála; remainder have dispersed, never exceeded 120. Of these twelve killed in attacks. Quiet restored. Troops stopped.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, | To—The Commissioner,
From—Dehli. | To—Ludiánah.

BAILLIE Telegraphs ot Hutchinson—"Troops stopped." What is meant by this?

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, | To—The Commissioner,
From—Dehli. | To—Ludiánah.

REPLY at once to my telegram about stopping troops.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—Cowan, | To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab,
From—Kotla. | To—Dehli.

TRANQUILLITY restored. About 100 Kukas killed, wounded, or captured. Patiála, Nábha and Jínd giving active assistance.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, | To—The Commissioner,
From—Dehli. | To—Ludiánah.

TELEGRAPH distinct statement of the numbers killed, wounded, and captured, who by, and how many of our people killed or wounded.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Commissioner, | To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab,
From—Ludianah. | To—Dehli.

No further news from Cowan. Colonel Baillie has gone with party of Gough's sowars to bring in Rám Singh. District at present quiet.

Telegram, dated 17th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, | To—The Commissioner,
From—Dehli. | To—Ludiánah.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR is surprised at not receiving your answer to my two telegrams about stoppage of troops, and is at a loss to understand the cause.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—FORSYTH, Commissioner,	To—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

YOUR four telegrams received together. Gough's cavalry, Gurkha detachment, 74th, and guns sent here. Total Kukas implicated variously stated at 125 and 150. Of these 2 killed and 4 wounded and taken at Maloudh, 7 killed and 5 captured at Kotla; 68 captured in Patiála territory, of whom 29 are wounded; others are being captured. No Government Officers or men have been engaged, but at Maloudh Sardár lost 2 men killed and 2 wounded; in Kotla Kotwál killed fighting gallantly, and 7 men killed and 15 men wounded. Cowan has done admirably. Rám Singh at Bhaini; expect report about them to-morrow. Rúr Singh passed on to Allahabad; Suba Singh will follow to-morrow. I have stopped 72nd at Ambálah and Mountain Battery not wanted. Enough Europeans and guns here. Everything perfectly quiet at present.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab,	To—Home Secretary,
From—Dehli.	To—Calcutta.

AT Maloudh, 2 Kukas were killed, 4 wounded and captured. At Kotla 7 killed and 5 captured. 68 captured in Patiála territory, of whom 29 were wounded. Others since captured. No Government troops were engaged. At Maloudh Sardár lost 2 men killed and 2 wounded. At Kotla the Kotwál was killed fighting gallantly; 7 men also killed and 15 wounded. Quiet restored.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—Commissioner,	To—Secretary to Government, Punjab,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

FORTY-NINE Kukas blown from guns at Kotla; one cut to pieces when savagely attacking Deputy Commissioner. A confidential Subha of Rám Singh's caught in village near Kotla.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab,	To—Captain MENZIES,
From—Dehli.	To—Ludiánah.

COMMISSIONER reports 49 Kukas blown from guns at Kotla. Instantly telegraph what this means; under what circumstances and by whose orders.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—Commissioner,	To—Secretary to Government, Punjab,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

RAM SINGH, Lakka Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowahir Singh, under charge of European Officer and Gurkha guard, leave this for Allahabad just now. Letter regarding Rám Singh sent by hand. I leave at

once for Kotla to dispose of Kuka gang apprehended there. Menzies remains in charge at Ludiánah.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—Secy. to Govt., Punjab,	To—Secy. to Govt., N. W. P., and Magte.,
From—Dehli.	To—Allahabad.

RAM SINGH, the Kuka leader, with Lakka Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowahir Singh, his lieutenants, forwarded to Allahabad under charge of European Officer and Gurkha guard, by this morning's train.

Repeated to Home and Foreign Secretaries to the Government of India, Calcutta.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—MENZIES,	To—Colonel HUTCHINSON, Inspr.-Genl. of Police,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

COMMISSIONER gone to Kotla. Cowan has blown away from guns 49 men yesterday. Pahara Singh, Kahn Singh, Nihang, Hukma Singh, Brahma Singh, just been sent in by Baillie; will leave for Allahabad by first opportunity.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab,	To—Home Secretary to Govt. of India,
From—Dehli.	To—Calcutta.

AT Kotla on the 17th instant, 49 of the men who had attacked Maloudh and Maler Kotla were blown away from guns by the Deputy Commissioner. The circumstances under which this was done are not yet clearly known, but explanation has been called for from Commissioner. The other Kuka leaders have been arrested.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—MENZIES,	To—The Secretary to Govt. Punjab,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

AT 5 A. M. this morning Mr. Cowan's report was received by Commissioner to effect that he had, on his own responsibility, executed 49 prisoners at Kotla; and that just as execution was over he had received Commissioner's letter ordering him to await his arrival, and that he had therefore refrained from proceeding to Maloudh to execute the remainder there, as had been his intention.

No. 22½C., dated 18th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

THE Lieutenant-Governor has this day been informed by a telegram from Captain Menzies, Officiating Deputy Inspector-General of

Police, that Mr. L. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, has caused 49 Kukas to be executed on his own responsibility.

His Honor desires that you will immediately call on Mr. Cowan for an explanation of this extraordinary course of action, and transmit it without delay for consideration.

Telegram, dated 18th January 1872.

From—COWAN, From—Kotla.	To—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

HAVE dismissed the troops of Patiála, Nábha and Jhínd, retaining a guard over the remaining 24 rebels, who will be committed to the Commissioner. The Chieftains deserve thanks for their valuable services; tranquillity prevails; the alarm and consternation is subsiding fast.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—FORSYTH, Commissioner, From—Ludiánah.	To—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

Kotla, 18-43 P. M.—*All at present known to have been concerned* in attack on Kotla have been captured and convicted. 50 were executed yesterday by Cowan—among them Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, Subhas. 16 are now to be executed; 4 made over to Patiála for punishment; 7 Kukas caught at Maloudh, being in British territory, will be tried there by me to-morrow, and case sent to Chief Court immediately. No direct evidence against Rám Singh in this case sufficient to put him on his trial. Colonel Gough and detachment cavalry here. Perfect tranquillity. Cowan's prompt action deserves praise. Patiála, Jhínd, and Nábha gave signal help.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—The Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—The Commissioner, To—Ludiánah.

YOUR telegram of this morning. The Lieutenant-Governor requests that before any more executions, their necessity may be carefully and calmly considered. A sufficient example has been made.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—MENZIES, From—Ludiánah.	To—The Inspr.-General of Police, Punjab, To—Dehli.

16 more executed yesterday at Kotla by Commissioner. 4 made over to Patiála; 7, who were captured at Maloudh, undergo regular trial to-day. Baillie still at Bhaini, which he has cleared of all males. 172 came in yesterday afternoon, and were sent off by me in parties to respective districts, except 50, who, having no regular residence but

Bhaini, are here in custody waiting Commissioner's orders. Smith, from Lahore, will take down Kanh Singh and other Subhas to Allahabad this afternoon unless countermanded. Please communicate above to Secretary to Government.

Dated Camp Ludiánah, 17th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to forward herewith copy of a letter received from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, at an early hour (5 A.M.) this morning, reporting that tranquillity had been completely restored in his district. A copy of my reply is also forwarded.

2. I telegraphed to you last night the substance of news which had been brought to me by the Vakíl of His Highness the Máharája of Patiála to the effect that a body of about 70 Kukas, some with guns, some with swords, and others with gandásas and sticks, had come from Maler Kotla to Sherpúr, which is about 13 miles west of Kotla, and had surrendered to the Nazim of Amargarh. About 30 of these men were wounded, and all acknowledged that they had been in the attack on Kotla. The total number of Kukas employed on this attack appears not to have exceeded 125.

3. Rám Singh, it appears from one report, sent in by the District Superintendent of Police last night, joined the Deputy Commissioner at Maloudh on his requisition, but was told to come into Ludiánah, by him, on Mr. Cowan's advancing to Kotla.

4. I have directed Colonel Baillie to cause Rám Singh to come to Ludiánah at once. Lakka Singh came in of his own accord on the 15th, and has been detained till Rám Singh's arrival, when he shall be disposed of as ordered by the Inspector-General's telegrams.

5. It is reported that 200 Kukhas are collected in the village of Bhaini, which is 15 miles distant from Ludiánah, *on the road to Kalka.* I have directed Captain Menzies to proceed there and bring back with him any Subhas or others whose presence may be required here.

6. As soon as I have decided what to do with Rám Singh on his arrival here, I shall proceed to Kotla.

7. Two companies of Her Majesty's 54th Regiment arrived yesterday from Jálandhar, and are lodged in the Fort. The artillery from Jálandhar is coming in. Colonel Gough, with 100 sabres, has just arrived. I have telegraphed to the General Commanding Sirhind Division to keep the European troops at Ambálah, but to send on the 1st Gurkhas to this place.

8. Further reports shall be submitted hereafter.

Dated Camp Kotla, 16th January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

In reply to your telegram of yesterday's date, informing me that you would be at Ludiánah this evening, and directing me to send a report to meet you there, which telegram has just been received by me, I have the honor to report to you that tranquillity has been completely restored, and that there is no necessity for you to come to Kotla.

2. The gang of rebels—for no other name will adequately characterize them—never numbered more than 125. Of these there were at Maloudh, 2 killed, 4 captured; at Kotla, 8 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time, but 68, including 29 wounded, have been captured in the Patiála State at Rurh, a village 12 miles from this. The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at day-break.

3. Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority; and, to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur, but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once.

Dated 17th January 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., c.b., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,
To—The Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated Kotla, 16th January, 7·30 p.m.

2. The body of Kukas now apprehended in Patiála territory have committed two separate offences—one offence affecting British jurisdiction, the other offence affecting the semi-independent jurisdiction of the Maler Kotla State.

3. As regards offences committed in Maler Kotla, the authorities there have full power to try and sentence criminals, sending the case up to the Commissioner for sanction when the sentence is capital punishment.

4. I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment, and I shall then give immediate orders. But with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand.

5. I purpose proceeding to Maler Kotla very shortly.

Dated Camp Ludiánah, 18th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to inform you that I have considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace in this district, if not for the peace of the whole province, to deport Rám Singh, leader of the Kuka sect, at once from the Punjab, and to send him to Allahabad for safety until the pleasure of the Government regarding his final disposal be made known.

2. The complicity of Rám Singh in the outrages committed by his followers at Maloudh and in the State of Maler Kotla has not yet been thoroughly enquired into, and it is a fact that he reported to the Police the intention of Lehna Singh and Hira Singh, the chief actors in the present case, to commit outrages. But by his own admission his followers make use of his name and take advantage *of his* presence among them *to call on their fellows to commit murders* and create disturbance.

3. He admits, whilst I am now writing down his words, that some time (he says about a month or six weeks) before the Amritsar murder, two men, Jhanda Singh and Mehr Singh, asked leave to kill the butchers; others joined in the request, but he strenuously forbade them; nevertheless they perpetrated the crime. He admits that, though he had a strong suspicion that these men were the culprits, he did not give any information to the Government. Some time afterwards, he says, that Dal Singh, Mangal Singh, Díwán Singh and two others, came and asked his leave to commit the Raikot murder, but he forbade them, and they did the deed without his knowledge. But he admits that he never gave any clue to the Government officers, not even when he was summoned to Bassian by Mr. Macnabb and interrogated. It is therefore quite evident that he kept the Government in the dark as to the proceedings of his followers. His excuse is that he was ignorant of our laws, and that as he had forbidden his followers to be guilty of murder, there was no obligation resting on him to report the matter to Government, not even when he found that murders proposed by his followers had been committed.

4. To allow such a man to be at liberty is in the highest degree dangerous, even supposing his statement to be true, and then to be no more guilty of complicity than is to be inferred from his silence when information from him, as in the Amritsar case, would have led to a prompt apprehension of the real culprits.

5. I trust that the action I am now about to take may receive the sanction of the Government, and that a warrant may be issued under

Regulation III. of 1818 for the detention in custody of Rám Singh and those of his Subhas who during the next day or two shall be apprehended and forwarded to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

Demi-official letter, dated 17th January 1872.

From—Captain MENZIES, Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
To—Colonel HUTCHINSON, Inspector-General of Police.

As far as we have heard from Cowan and other sources, the following appears to be the circumstances under which these riotous proceedings have taken place :—The Magi festival was held at Bhaini on the 12th and 13th of January, and a large concourse of Kukas were assembled. Several, during the festival, are reported to have asked Rám Singh whether he intended to take any revenge for Gyani Singh's being hanged; he replied no; so they said they would. On this, Rám Singh is said to have gone to Deputy Inspector Sarfraz Khán, who was in the village, and reported these men to be out of his control. The Deputy Inspector turned them out of the village and sent a Sergeant to see them out of the Sirkari ilaqa, and then came in and reported the matter here. They, *i. e.*, this body of Kukas, appear to have stopped at a village "Jabbo," near Maloudh, for the night, having the intention of attacking Maler Kotla. They in the morning seem to have thought of Maloudh, and accordingly in the afternoon went into the village and killed some three men, and wounded the Sardár, reproaching him with being a friend of the English and of Patiála. They seized three swords and a double-barrelled gun and three horses, and were then attacked with brick-bats, *láthis*, &c., by the villagers and ejected. They went on to Maler Kotla, and early in the morning, when the gates were open, rushed in on the treasury and killed the Darogah and some three men, but were eventually beaten out of the fort by the Maler Kotla men, and lost eight men killed. They went on then to a village Rúr, and eventually were heard of at Takia Sherpúr. The Nazim of Kotla, hearing of their being there, went out with some six men and found the village deserted by its inhabitants, and the Kukas, 68 in number, in the jungle close by. He rode up to them, and, after some palaver, succeeded in making them give up their arms, 15 swords and 9 gandásas, and found 29 wounded out of the 68, and some likely to die,—and all very dispirited. He reports that they said that they had gone to Maler Kotla and reproached the people there for killing kine, on which they had been set upon and a free fight ensued. Cowan and Perkins reached Maler Kotla last night, and expected these 68 prisoners to arrive there this morning. Cowan summoned Rám Singh to Maloudh, and he went, but was ordered to appear at Ludiánah, and we have sent out for him by Mr. Forsyth's desire.

The whole gang has, with a few exceptions, apparently been caught in Patiála territory, and I think Mr. Forsyth means to deal with them for their attack on Maler Kotla, if Cowan has not, as he reported his intention to be, executed the whole lot. Those who were captured at Maloudh are to be dealt with as dacoits. Mr. Forsyth purposes, as soon

as Rám Singh comes in, after passing orders regarding him, to go out to Maler Kotla himself. The arrest of all the Subhas, as directed, has been ordered; but none of us here know anything of Mán Singh. Baillie and I will probably accompany Mr. Forsyth, unless he sends one of us to Bhaini to disperse the Kukaṣ there who may be still left from the fair. Two companies of the 54th are here; all other troops have been stopped. Mr. Forsyth has telegraphed to Lahore and Amritsar to allay any alarms, and I fancy in a day or so the matter will be effectually ended by the execution of the band.

POLICE DEPARTMENT. LUDIANAH DISTRICT.

SPECIAL REPORT OF CRIME.

No. 3 of 1872, dated 17th January 1872.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Description of offence; section of the Code; also distance and direction of place from Police Station	*No. of persons.* Supposed to have been concerned.	Arrested.	*Value of property.* Plundered.	Recovered.	Statement of the case; conduct of Police; steps taken by them.
396	About 100.				KOTLA.—Arrived here yesterday afternoon, with Deputy Commissioner, about 5 o'clock; on the road we were met by one Rissalah from *Jhínd*, another from *Nábha*, and also the Naib Nazim of Amargarh (Wazír Ali), Patiála, who reported his having been successful in capturing the greater part of the gang who attacked this place. The capture seems to have been easily effected,—no one being hurt. The Kukas were probably knocked up and dispirited. The Nazim stated that some 30 were wounded. From this it is evident the Kotla Thanadar's men must have fought well. But one wounded Kuka was left behind: there were 7 killed.

10 *o'clock* A. M.—Have just returned, with Deputy Commissioner, from inspecting the city and scene of action. The gang appear to have met with little or no difficulty in entering the city through the broken-down wall, and no opposition until they reached the palace square; here they were met by the Thanadar and a few men,

and at this place there was the only real fighting, about 15 being killed on both sides. The Thanadar is said to have killed three men before he succumbed to a sword wound in the head. The Kukas evidently hoped to get at the treasury, but luckily broke open the wrong door, finding only a few papers ('missals') in the place. They took some arms out of a kothi, but, not finding any ammunition, threw them down a well.

The Kotla people were evidently unprepared. This, they say, was in consequence of the short notice they received of the meditated attack (the report from their Vakíl only reaching Kotla at 8 P. M. on the 14th,)—the men having been informed by me at 11 o'clock the previous night (13th).

17th, 12 *o'clock*.—Just starting to assist in bringing in the Kukas, who are reported to be about six miles off; roads very bad, and cattle knocked up.

3 *o'clock*.—Returned to Kotla; met the party about seven miles off; collected fresh cattle for the hackeries now about three miles off; both Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders, taken; they are generally well dressed and well-to-do men, but have the appearance of bold, determined-looking fellows.

Híra Singh told District Superintendent, Police, that the *whole* band was taken.

Several of them were exceedingly abusive, declaring they would have no government but their own, &c., &c.

7 *o'clock*.—Just returned from the execution; arrangements excellent; seven guns; 49 blown away, and one cut to pieces when savagely attacking the Deputy Commissioner.

Fortunately, as we were finishing the executions, Commissioner's letter was received directing these ruffians, up to their elbows in blood, to be tried under the extradition laws.

8 P. M.—*Khan Singh, Subha*, has just been brought in from "Mullarpur" (by a party of Nábha cavalry), a village five coss from this, by orders of Deputy Commissioner. This man is a *most influential* Subha and leading man amongst the Kukas, and attendant and confidential adviser of Rám Singh's.

A report came in here this evening from *Maloudh* that 150 Kukas had congregated in a jungle near *Khannah*.

E. N. PERKINS, *Lieut.-Col.*,
District Superintendent, Police.

No. 23C., dated 19th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I HAVE the honor to forward herewith copies of letters from Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C. B., Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, dated the 17th and 18th instant, with annexures, and copy of a demi-official letter, dated 17th, from Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspector-General, Police,

to the address of the Inspector-General, Police; also a special report, dated 17th, of Lieutenant-Colonel E. Perkins, District Superintendent, Police, Ludiánah District, on the subject of the Kuka outbreak.

2. The Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor observes that the action taken by him, when the first news reached him by telegraph of the desperate attack on Maloudh and Maler Kotla, in sending to the scene of disturbance sufficient troops to restore order, and in deporting the head of a sect which had proved itself dangerous to the public safety, has been entirely approved by His Excellency the Viceroy, and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has received this expression of His Excellency's approval with much satisfaction.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor regrets the course taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, in summarily executing the Kuka insurgents captured in Patiála territory, and is of opinion that there was no such urgent necessity as to justify that officer acting without the orders of the Commissioner, whose letter, directing formal procedure to be employed in the trial of the insurgents, appears to have reached Mr. Cowan after the executions.

4. The position of the Deputy Commissioner was, however, peculiar. He was in a Native State, some distance from the officer to whom he had to look for instructions, and no doubt believed that the outbreak was of such a character and likely to excite the sympathies and active co-operation of so large and powerful a sect that it was necessary to take action promptly, before it had grown to any formidable dimensions. The Commissioner, Mr. Forsyth, considers that the action of the Deputy Commissioner deserves praise, and has himself at Kotla executed, after formal trial, 16 more of the men implicated.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that all the men implicated in murder, rebellion, and the most savage attacks on the towns of Maloudh and Maler Kotla, were liable to the punishment of death, in ordinary course of law: he is also aware that any success, however temporary, obtained by the insurgents, would probably have been followed by risings of the Kukas in other districts, but he is still of opinion that there was undue haste in the executions: while policy would not have required, as an example, so large a number of capital punishments. At the same time the position of an officer, alone, and acting upon his own responsibility, when naturally excited by the enormity of offences, the relative importance of which he is unable to judge exactly, from ignorance of what is occurring elsewhere, must fairly be considered, and if Mr. Cowan has erred on the side of precipitancy, it is not given to all officers of Government to be at the same time energetic and discreet. An opportunity has been given to Mr. Cowan of explaining more fully the grounds of his action.

6. Complete tranquillity is now restored, and any other trials which may be necessary will be conducted, for offences committed in British territory, in accordance with ordinary legal procedure.

7. The deportation of Rám Singh, the leader of the turbulent Kuka sect, and his most influential lieutenants, appears to the Lieutenant-Governor to have been an inevitable result of the present outbreak, and

whether proof be forthcoming to connect him with the particular crimes under report appears to His Honor of little moment. The Kuka sect has shown itself to be obnoxious to public tranquillity; the series of violent crimes during the past year at Amritsar, Raikot and Morindah, which had so much alarmed society, have now been followed by open rebellion and attacks upon towns, which, if successful, as from their suddenness they might well have been, would have occasioned serious inconvenience to the Government. The Government contented itself with punishing the actual perpetrators of the first-mentioned crimes, and trusted that its moderation would have induced the leaders of the sect to insist on their followers abstaining from violation of the law. Such has not been the case. It was at Bhaini, the village of Rám Singh, that the Kukas who committed the present outrages assembled, and from which they departed on their expedition; and whether Rám Singh at the last found his followers had got beyond his control; whether he desired an experiment to be made to try the temper of the Kukas, to be followed, if successful, by a general rising of the sect, or whether he only believed that the time had not come when action could be safely taken, is uncertain. What is certain is that the outrages were the immediate result of the doctrines taught by him, as the crimes at Amritsar, Raikot and Morindah were committed admittedly with his knowledge; and nothing which has since come to light has in any way altered the view of the Lieutenant-Governor on which the instructions to the Commissioner of the Ambálah Division were based that the deportation of Rám Singh had become a measure absolutely necessary in the interests of public tranquillity. Mr. McNabb, the late Officiating Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, before leaving it, placed on record his opinion of the necessity for placing Rám Singh in confinement, and the Lieutenant-Governor will submit a further report on this subject.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—Viceroy, From—Calcutta.	To—The Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, To—Dehli.

STOP any summary execution of Kukas without your express orders.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Governor, From—Dehli.	To—The Viceroy, To—Calcutta.

YOUR telegram. Mr. Cowan's executions were followed yesterday by sixteen more deliberately ordered by Forsyth, after reaching Maler Kotla. Kukas arrested in British territory will be regularly tried. No more summary executions will take place.

Telegram, dated 19th January 1872.

From—Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—Commissioner, To—Ludiánah.

STOP any more summary executions without Lieutenant-Governor's express orders.

Telegram, dated 20th January 1872.

From—FORSYTH, Commissioner, | To—The Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab,
From—Ludiánah. | To—Dehli.

TOTAL number of Kukas altogether apprehended including Subhas deported 130; of these 50 summarily executed by Cowan in Kotla; 16 tried for offences, in Kotla, sentenced by me and executed; 4 transported for life; 50 to be imprisoned in default of security; 10 not punished. I return to Ambálah.

Telegram, dated 20th January 1872.

From—Commissioner, | To—The Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab,
From—Ludiánah. | To—Dehli.

YOUR telegram received. No more executions than those already reported have been ordered, and none now intended. Since my arrival every man has been regularly tried.

No. 15, dated 17th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

IN reply to your telegram, the receipt of which was delayed owing to my having left Maloudh just before it arrived at that place, I addressed a hurried letter to you last evening reporting that tranquillity was completely restored, and that it would not be necessary for you to come to Kotla. I now continue the narrative of what has occurred.

2. I yesterday completed the enquiry in the Maloudh case; seven prisoners were placed on their trial; four of these men were wounded. They were taken red-handed, the evidence and their own admission formed the most conclusive evidence against them. Their names are Bhagwán Singh, Gyán Singh and Taman Singh of the Patiála State; and Mehr Singh of Alawálpur, district Jálandhar; all Kukas. There was some doubt whether the other three prisoners joined in the attack. They are kept to be tried on other charges. From the enquiry it appeared that on the 13th instant at Bhaini, Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakraudi in Patiála, two men who had formerly been in good circumstances, but were now poor—collected a gang of Kukas, estimated at from 60 to 100 in number. These men they seated apart from the other Kukas who had come to visit Rám Singh, and by prayers, recitations, &c., worked them up to a state of frenzy; and then, after abusing the British Government and the Native States who had assisted in the Raikot murder case, called on them to revenge the death of Gyani, a *Subha*, who was hanged at Ludiánah a month ago, promising arms, horses, and money if they would follow them. These two men said that arms and horses would be found at Kotla, and that they would then proceed to sack Sangrúr, Nábha and Patiála, gathering strength as they went. Rám Singh gave intimation to the Deputy Inspector of Police, Sarfraz Khán, that this gang meditated mischief, and he himself begged of them not to create a disturbance *at Bhaini*. Whether his remonstrance was made in good faith or was a deep move on Rám Singh's part, I am unable now to say.

3. About 2 P. M., on the afternoon of the 13th instant, this gang left Bhaini in a body. They proceeded *viâ* Rámpur and Pael in the Patiála State, without, however, resting at these places, and about 10 P. M., reached Rabbu, a village in this District, about 3½ miles from Maloudh, on the border of the Patiála State. They remained at a well distant about 400 or 500 paces from the village of Rabbu. The Deputy Inspector of Sánehwál (Sarfraz Khán,) came to Ludiánah on the night of the 13th, to report the departure of this gang from Bhaini, and about 11 P. M. I sent notice to the Vakíls of Kotla and Patiála, directing them to give warning to their respective States.

4. The Kuka gang remained in the neighbourhood of Rabbu, during the night of the 13th, and day of the 14th. There is no evidence to show that their numbers increased after leaving Bhaini, and I am inclined to think that the greatest number together at one time did not exceed 150 men. The delay at Rabbu was probably caused by a hope that they would be joined by others, or by doubts of the success of an attempt on Kotla. It probably occurred to the leaders as they were about to start for Kotla, that it would be easy to obtain arms and horses at Maloudh. It was certainly not their intention to attack Maloudh when they left Bhaini.

5. The gang left Rabbu in the evening and reached Maloudh as it became dark. They made the attack in the manner I have described in a previous letter. Their success at Maloudh was a very poor one. They killed two men of no consequence, slightly wounded the Sardár and secured three horses, one gun, and one sword. In return they left two of their number killed, and four wounded prisoners. Considering the suddenness of this attack, the result is creditable to the people of Maloudh and to the men of the adjoining village of Kheri, who turned out on hearing the beat of drum and reached Maloudh before the Kukas left it and gave valuable assistance.

6. The Kukas then proceeded to Kotla, about 9 miles distant from Maloudh and appeared at Kotla on the morning of the 15th. Intimation of the threatened attack reached the ahalkárs of this small State on the evening of the 14th, and some patrols were placed round the town during the night, and the guards at the gates strengthened. On the morning of the 15th, these precautions were discontinued, and the Kuka gang, about 7 A. M., made a sudden attack. They made for the palace and treasury, but were encountered by the kotwál, Ahmad Khán, and a few men. Ahmad Khán, who appears to have behaved with great gallantry, was killed, and in the confusion which followed 7 other persons were killed and 15 wounded. The Kukas failed to get at the treasure, and after taking two horses and a few swords, retreated followed by the Kotla people who had now assembled armed. A sort of running fight was kept up and long shots fired, and many more Kukas were wounded till both parties reached the village of Rúr in the Patiála State, the Kukas carrying most of their wounded with them. At this place the Kotla officials were told by a wounded Kuka that his gang intended to return and repeat the attack on Kotla, and thought it prudent to return after sending intimation to the officials of Sherpur in Patiála.

7. On receipt of the first intimation of the attack on Kotla and arrival of the Kukas at Rúr, the Naib Názim of Sherpur rode to Rúr accompanied by three sowars. He found the village abandoned, the Jat villagers having gone off in alarm with their families, and the Kukas seated in the jungle a little way from the village. The Kukas at first showed fight, advancing towards the Naib Názim with drawn swords and shouting out abusive language; but this was mere bravado. The ruffians were completely cowed. They were hungry and tired, and had a number of wounded men with them; and after a short parley they gave up their arms, many of the swords covered with blood, and surrendered. Sixty-eight Kukas (including a woman) were here captured who had been present at the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla; of these 29 were wounded, 7 of them very severely. The prisoners were conveyed to the fort of Sherpur. I have sent for them. The Rajás of Nábha and Jínd responded with alacrity to my requisition for troops. In less than an hour after receipt of my *"muráslas,"* they despatched artillery, cavalry and infantry to Kotla. I hope to be able to allow these troops to return this evening or to-morrow.

8. When I first heard of the attack on Kotla the situation appeared to me to be a very grave one, and I telegraphed that troops might be sent. Two such atrocities as the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla perpetrated by the same people who committed the murders at Amritsar and Raikot, justified me in thinking that this was more than a dacoity. It looked like the commencement of an insurrection and I trust I shall not be thought to have caused unnecessary alarm by my first reports.

9. It transpires that the disturbance was got up by two men, Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, residents of the village of Sakraudi, in the Patiála State. These men were formerly in affluent circumstances, but have latterly become poor and desperate. They induced a number of the most ignorant of the Kukas—men who are easily excited—to join them; their sole object in the first instance being plunder. What the ulterior object of the leaders was it is impossible to say; one of the leaders, Lehna Singh, was captured at Rúr, the other, Híra Singh, is believed to have been killed in Kotla, but the corpse has not yet been identified.

10. The losses sustained by the *rebels* in their short campaign of three days' duration are as follows :—

At Maloudh,—2 killed 4 wounded and taken.

At Kotla,—7 killed, 5 captured.

At Rúr,—68 captured, of whom 29 are wounded. Whilst they have inflicted a loss of—

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
At Maloudh	2	2
At Kotla	8	15
Total ...	10	17

At least two-thirds of the whole gang has been killed, wounded, or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermin and many more of them will be taken.

11. I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of the prisoners from Rúr. I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur in exercising an authority which is not vested in me, but the case is an exceptional one. These men are not ordinary criminals. They are rebels, having for their immediate object the acquisition of plunder, and ulteriorly the subversion of order. It is certain that had their first attempts been crowned with success; had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their extinction would not be effected without much trouble. By the timely preparation at Kotla, the first efforts were defeated; and by the active exertions of the Patiála officials, this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out, but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example; and, that the warning should be effectual it must be prompt and terrible. I have every confidence then that the Government of the Punjab will approve of the immediate execution of those prisoners who have been taken red-handed.

No. 50, dated Ludiánah, 17th January 1872.

COPY of above forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Punjab.

No. 16, dated 17th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

IN continuation of my letter to your address of this morning's date, I have the honor to report to you that 68 rebel Kukas were brought in to-day from Rúr; of these 2 were women, being 66 men; 22 of the men were wounded, most of them slightly.

2. The conduct of these prisoners was most defiant and unruly; they poured forth the most abusive language towards the Government and the Chiefs of Native States; *all of them* admitted that they were present at the *attacks* on Maloudh and Kotla, and gloried in the act; they said they had attacked Maloudh for the purpose of procuring arms, and Kotla because their religion required them to slay the killers of cows.

3. The two women were residents of the Patiála State, and I made them over to the officer commanding the Patiála troops for conveyance to Patiála. Forty-nine of the rebels were blown away from guns this afternoon, on the parade ground of the Kotla Chief, in the presence of troops of the Patiála, Nábha, Jínd, and Kotla States. It was my intention to have had 50 men blown away, and to have sent the remaining 16 rebels to Maloudh to be executed there to-morrow, but one man escaped from the guards and made a serious attack on me, seizing me by the beard and endeavouring to strangle me; and as he was a very powerful man I had considerable difficulty in releasing myself. He then made a most savage attack on some Officers of the Native

States who were standing near me. These Officers drew their swords and cut him down.

4. This was a most painful duty, and it was made inexpressibly painful to me by receipt of your letter of to-day's date, received as the last batch was being lashed to the guns, desiring me to make an enquiry and forward the proceedings to you for punishment. In carrying out execution of my own sentence, I acted on the honest and sincere conviction that I was acting in the best interests of Government. A rebellion, which might have attained large dimensions, was nipped in the bud, and a terrible and prompt punishment was in my opinion absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of a similar rising.

5. I most sincerely trust that you will after this explanation approve of what I have done. I am placed in a most difficult position here, with reference to the 16 rebels who have remained unpunished. It was, as I have stated above, my intention to have sent them for execution to Maloudh to-morrow, and I earnestly beg that you will sanction my carrying out sentence at once. I believe that these executions *have had* and will have a most happy effect on the people of these parts; the demeanour of the people, their shouts and remarks wherever I go, all shew this.

6. I purpose dismissing to-morrow morning, to their respective States, the troops assembled here, and shall remain here till noon to-morrow in the hope of receiving an order from you sanctioning my carrying out sentence on the remaining Kuka rebels. Should you not accord this sanction, I will make enquiry and forward to you for orders.

P. S.—Among the rebels blown away were Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang and instigators of the outrages.

P. S. 2nd.—Just as I am closing this letter the party of cavalry I sent in pursuit of the Kukas said to be concealed in the village of Málupur, which I communicated to you in my demi-official of to-day's date, has returned, bringing with it Khán Singh, an influential Subha, who resides as Bhaini, and three other Kukas. I reserve the enquiry into these men's case until to-morrow, as I have been extremely harassed all day.

No. 52, dated Camp Kotlá, 17th January 1872.

COPY of above forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, in continuation of this office No. 50, of this morning.

No. 24 C., dated 20th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letter No. 23 C., of yesterday, I am desired by the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor to forward copies of letters Nos. 15 and 16, of the 17th instant, from Mr. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, reporting further on the Kuka outbreak, and his proceedings connected therewith. His Honor will reserve further remarks until the report of the Commissioner is received.

(Demi-official) dated Amritsar, 18th January 1872.

From—Captain C. H. T. MARSHALL, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I WRITE to let you know the state of things here. You have heard that Rúr Singh was quietly captured at night and dispatched under Mr. Lemarchand's charge by the morning mail train. So quietly was all done that no one knew where he was gone, and his people brought his food up at 12 o'clock, asking where they should take it.

That day we arrested a young man, Jíwan Singh, who went down and returned with Rúr Singh, and stated that he was one of the attackers on Maloudh, but that there were only 13 men and 2 subhas, and they had only one talwár that they had stolen from a thánah. He is now in the gaol, as he cannot find security for good behaviour. His uncle came up and said he had been told he should have his throat cut if he did not go security for Jíwan Singh.

Three more were arrested, who returned with Rúr Singh, and put on security.

As I received a telegram from Commissioner, Jálandhar Division, that a demonstration of Amritsar Kukas had taken place at Rahon, I have put constables in plain clothes at the station to stop all going up and down; all the ferries are watched, and Lopoki, their hot-bed, is under most careful supervision.

Six Kukas went off in the Multán train this afternoon; they are watched.

All is quiet here. There are now no subhas in the city, and nothing going on.

I will let you know if anything occurs.

(Demi-official) dated Jálandhar, 20th January 1872.

From—Major E. H. PASKE, Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Jálandhar Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE no news of importance to communicate. Tranquillity prevails throughout the division. I have still got a considerable body of Police from Jálandhar and Hoshiárpur, patrolling the right bank of the Satlej. About ten Kukas have been arrested, supposed to have been fugitives from Maler Kotla. They are being brought in to the Sadr, and will be closely watched. I have myself been to Philour and Ludiánah: to the latter place I went to enquire if I could assist the authorities. Forsyth wanted nothing, however. I go out to Philour again to-day. The small detachment of 25 Europeans that I threw into the fort some days ago I shall retain there for the present.

We had a false alarm here two days ago through the stupidity of a Police Sergeant. The Deputy Commissioner was at Philour. The Police Sergeant at Rahon sent in an express to him there to the effect that there had been a demonstration on Rahon by a party of Kukas from Amritsar. Birch, without waiting to ascertain how far the report was correct, sent it on to me by telegram. On my telegraphing for

particulars, Birch then reported the party to be some 10 or 15 Nihangs, in no way connected with the movement, who were going to Anandpur Makhowal in Hoshiárpur.

On receipt of the first telegram I communicated with the Deputy Commissioner at Amritsar, and requested him to use all precautions to prevent any Kukas coming into this district by rail or by the ferries on the Biás. I had a train that was passing here looked into as it stopped at the city station, and I sent an intelligent Tahsíldár to watch the ferries on our side of the Biás. I also told the Kapurthalá Rája to send 100 sepoys and 25 sowars to strengthen his posts in Phagwára, still refraining from using any of his men in our own territory. I also took immediate measures to prevent any Kukas getting across to Anandpur Makhowal, a shrine they frequent. Late in the afternoon, on receipt of accurate details from Birch, I made it generally known how erroneous the first report had been, and took such steps as would convince the people that I was perfectly satisfied all was right.

All sorts of absurd reports have been current throughout the cantonments, creating unnecessary alarm in the minds of residents there, and I have had some little trouble in removing this feeling of disquietude.

All my communications with Deputy Commissioner since the movement began have been verbal or by demi-official notes. I enclose a copy of the only official letter I have written, and which I sent to Deputy Commissioners of Jálandhar and Hoshiárpur.

Confidential letter dated 19th January 1872.

From—Major E. H. Paske, Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Jálandhar Division,
To—The Deputy Commissioners of Jálandhar and Hoshiarpur.

With reference to recent disturbances in Ludiánah and the movements of men of the Kuka sect, I request you will take measures to keep the leading Subhas and other influential men among the Kukas resident in your district under very strict surveillance. None of them should on any account be allowed to leave their homes at present; any attempting to disobey the order should be arrested and sent in to the Sadr Station. Orders to the above effect were issued some weeks ago with reference to the gathering at the Mokatsar fair, but the order should now be still more stringently enforced.

2. It is possible that some fugitive Kukas from Ludiánah may have crossed the Satlej and may be arrested in your district. If any are seized, let them be examined and their statements taken down in writing at once. In the confusion and fright of first arrest some may commit themselves to making disclosures and giving information that may be useful to us. Also be careful to have those who are arrested promptly and carefully searched on the chance of securing any correspondence.

3. Although the Kukas are said to be careful in not committing important communications to writing, it is pretty certain they have a private post of their own, which recent events appear to show is well

organized. Be on the look-out to arrest any of their news-carriers or messengers, and try to secure any despatches such men may carry.

4. All the orders you may give send out *quietly*. Make full use of your Tahsíldárs, Police Officers, Zaildárs and a few trustworthy heads of villages.

5. Careful enquiry at this juncture may lead to our securing information that might be turned to good account hereafter in tracing out all the circumstances that have led to the recent disturbances in Ludiánah.

Telegram, dated 21st January 1872.

From—Secretary to Government, Punjab,	To—Secy. to Govt. India, Home Dept.,
From—Dehli.	To—Calcutta.

REPORT of Kuka demonstration in Rahon, Jálandhar District, unfounded. It arose from the conduct of a party of some 10 or 15 Nihangs, unconnected with the Kukas, on their way to Anandpur.

Telegram, dated 21st January 1872.

From—Menzies,	To—Inspector-General of Division,
From—Ludiánah.	To—Dehli.

POLICE, Lahore, telegraph that express from Firozpur received this morning reported telegraph wires between Ludiánah and Firozpur have been cut. Two hundred Kukas said to be marching on Firozpur from Zíra. Telegraph communication with Firozpur interrupted last night, but now open.

Telegram, dated 21st January 1872.

From—Secretary to Govt., Punjab,	To—Deputy Commissioner,
From—Dehli.	To—Firozpur.

WHAT is the truth in the Police report of two hundred Kukas marching on Firozpur, and the telegraph wire being cut? Reply at once.

Telegram, dated 21st January 1872.

From—Secretary to Govt., Punjab,	To—Deputy Commissioner,
From—Dehli.	To—Ludiánah.

WHAT is the truth in Police report of the telegraph wire being cut between Ludiánah and Firozpur, and two hundred Kukas marching on the latter place?

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Deputy Commissioner,	To—Secretary to Govt., Punjab,
From—Firozpur.	To—Dehli.

REPORT of Kukas coming to Firozpur was exaggerated. None coming now. All well and ready here. Telegraph never cut. More by post.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Deputy Commissioner, From—Ludiánah.	To—Secretary to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

POLICE reports of wire being cut and Kukas marching on Firozpur is false. There was an interruption of communication last night for a few hours from other causes, but it is restored again. Commissioner has ordered me to send Gurkhas to Kotla and strengthen Tahsil guards, but, as the danger is over, I have not done it.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Secretary to Government, Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—Secy. to Govt. of India, Home Dept., To—Calcutta.

A REPORT was received yesterday that the telegraph wire was cut between Ludiánah and Firozpur, and that Kukas were marching on the latter place. No truth in the report.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Commissioner, From—Ambálah.	To—The Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

FOR *precaution a hundred Gurkhas sent to Kotla. May* fifty Kukas, imprisoned failing security, pronounced dangerous, be deported?

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Secretary to Government, Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—Commissioner, To—Ambálah.

THE Lieutenant-Governor strongly disapproves of the troops being dispersed in detachments; direct no movement of troops without immediate report by telegraph.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Secretary to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—Commissioner, To—Ambálah.

YOUR telegram regarding fifty Kukas. The Lieutenant-Governor does not sanction any more deportations.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Commissioner, From—Ambálah.	To—The Offg. Secretary to Govt., Punjab, To—Dehli.

COWAN states report about Firozpur false, so Gurkhas not sent to Kotla.

Dated Camp Kotla, 19th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN continuation of my letter, dated 17th January, forwarding reports from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, I have now the honor

to send copies of further letters received from him, and to submit a report of proceedings.

2. Up to the time of despatching the letter just referred to, no reliable intelligence of the whereabouts of Rám Singh had been received. It appeared as if he was playing a deep game, for he had reported to the Police the departure of his followers from his village to commit some outrage, but it had been known and reported verbally by me to you some time before that a body of 200 Kukas were to assemble at Bhaini, Rám Singh's village, at the *Lohri* festival, which occurred on the 13th current, and that it was given out that there was to be some outbreak soon after. The correctness of those reports may have been doubted at the time as very vague, but, read by the light of subsequent events, there is, I think, little reason to question their accuracy; and for Rám Singh to wait till the party had gone off, and then to report proceedings and to declare himself without any influence, was a *ruse* on his part to try and escape the responsibility of the acts of his followers.

3. The Deputy Commissioner ordered Rám Singh to meet him at Maloudh, which he did; but as Mr. Cowan was obliged to go on at once to Kotla, he sent Rám Singh back to his home. Intimation of this was not, however, sent to me, and we had some trouble to find out where Rám Singh was. At 4 P. M. on the 17th I despatched Colonel Baillie with a party of Colonel Gough's cavalry to search for Rám Singh and bring him in. I had previously ordered parwanahs to be sent in different directions requesting his attendance at once at Ludiánah. Later in the evening I heard he had reached Bhaini, where I was informed that 200 Kukas were assembled. Mr. Hatchell, Assistant District Superintendent, who had passed through that village on the night of the 15th, had reported to me that there were no Kukas there beyond the ordinary inhabitants. These men must therefore have either concealed their presence from the Police Officer or had assembled after his departure. I had instructed Captain Menzies to go out there at day-break, but Colonel Baillie's subsequent movements induced me to make over the duty to him, a report of which will be forwarded shortly.

Sahib Singh.
Jowahir Singh.

Servants.

Gurdat Singh.
Nánu Singh.

4. Rám Singh came into Ludiánah with four followers noted in the margin, in obedience to the order I had issued. He arrived at 1 A. M. on the morning of the 18th, when I interrogated him and got answers, the substance of which I sent in an official letter to you by the morning train of the 18th (yesterday). For reasons given in that letter I decided to deport Rám Singh at once, and further information confirms my opinion as to the correctness of the step taken. Although the particular outrage with which we are now concerned has been promptly dealt with, and we are able to report perfect tranquillity, we have no assurance that this tranquillity will not be disturbed at any moment. The assemblage of Kukas in the village of Bhaini, the appearance of small bodies of Kukas in villages near here, a few of whom have been apprehended, and the report received from Jálandhar of a body of Kukas from Amritsar having raised their flag at Rahun, are a sufficient indication that there is some intention of a general rising,

and the slightest failure on the part of the authorities to deal promptly with the marauders now caught would be a signal to concealed parties to rush forward.

5. As I was travelling by rail to Ludiánah on the 16th, I saw Kukas at three of the Railway Stations, and heard that others had been passing up the line. The Jínd Munshi reports that a Kuka in that State was observed to sell his land and throw away his property, declaring his intention of going off at once to join his Guru. Yesterday afternoon a Sowar coming from Maloudh reported that he saw about twelve Kukas collected and seated on the ground near the road about two miles from this. The Deputy Commissioner at once sent out to search for the men, but they had disappeared. A party of Kukas had been seen to pass through the village of Saibbi, in the Patiála territory near Kotla, on the evening of the 15th, but afterwards separated. I beg to call attention to the Deputy Commissioner's letter just received and sent in original with this.

6. It is with this impression on my mind that I now allude to Mr. Cowan's proceedings at Kotla, which are fully detailed in his report. I had demi-officially and officially urged him to be careful to do nothing which could detract from the complete success of his energetic efforts to quell this disturbance. I pointed out that, whilst offences committed against persons or property in British territory could only be tried according to regular form and sentences be carried into execution only after confirmation by the Chief Court, the procedure in cases of crime committed in Foreign States such as Maler Kotla admitted of more prompt action, inasmuch as sentence could be carried out on the confirmation of the Commissioner.

7. Before, however, my official letter had reached him, Mr. Cowan had disposed of 50 prisoners in a summary manner. There was no question as to their guilt, for they were all apprehended red-handed; and unquestionably, had the proceedings been sent up to me, I should have confirmed the sentence of death. Whilst, then, I regret the informality of the procedure, I consider myself justified now in confirming the sentence. There being no arrangements for hanging so many men at Kotla, and considering the circumstances of the case, and occurring in a Native State, these men were executed by Mr. Cowan by being blown from a gun—a proceeding warranted by former precedents when large numbers of rebels were thus disposed of in 1857.

8. Having despatched Rám Singh yesterday morning, I rode out to Kotla, accompanied by Colonel Gough and a party of his cavalry, and the remaining 16 prisoners were regularly tried by Mr. Cowan, acting on behalf of and sitting on the bench with the Nazim and Tahsíldár of the Maler Kotla State. The proceedings were formally recorded, and the sentence of death passed by them, having received my sanction, was carried into execution in the presence of the European Officers and the officials of Maler Kotla and the adjoining States.

9. There still remain seven persons implicated in the attack on Maloudh, four of whom were captured at the time by the Sardár's people. This offence having been committed on British territory, the

criminals will be regularly tried before the Sessions to-day at Maloudh, and sentence will be carried out, after the confirmation by the Chief Court, in the usual manner at Ludiánah.

10. In the evening of yesterday I distributed the following rewards from the Maler Kotla coffers to the persons prominently mentioned by Mr. Cowan as having distinguished themselves in apprehending the Kukas who were concerned in the attack on the Kotla palace and treasury, and I gave instructions to the Nazim of that principality to make proper provision for the family of the Kotwál, Ahmad Ali, and the others who gallantly defended at the expense of their lives the property of their State :

	Rs.
Niáz Ali, Naib Nazim	1,000
Punjab Singh, a Darbári	300
Jaimal Singh, who gave the information	200
Mastán Ali	100
Utam Singh	50
Rattan Singh	50
Goláb Singh	50
Pertáb Singh	50

11. Letters of thanks on behalf of the Maler Kotla State were at the same time addressed by me to the Máháraja of Patiála and Rájas of Jínd and Nábha, and delivered in Darbár to the Vakíls of the Rájas.

Demi-official letter dated Kotla, 17th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I MOST sincerely hope I shall hear from you before noon to-morrow, and that you will allow me to carry out sentence *at once*. Matters are not yet so quiet as they should be. Kanh Singh, the Vazir of the Kukas, has been caught in a village close to this, which is not a good sign.

A report came in this afternoon that 150 Kukas had assembled in the jungle near Khanna ; a man from Maloudh brought it.

No. 17, dated Camp Kotla, 18th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your letter of yesterday's date, I write to inform you that I will not take the remaining rebels to Maloudh as I had intended, but will make the enquiry here and commit to you. The proceedings will, I hope, be ready to send to you this evening. I purpose sending for the four prisoners at Maloudh, that all may be here on your arrival.

2. My duties at this place will then have ceased. Nothing will remain but to guard the prisoners till you dispose of them. Colonel Perkins will remain to perform this duty. I shall dismiss the troops of Native States, their services being no longer required, detaining only a strong guard for the prisoners.

Dated Kotla, the 19th January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

Yesterday Narain Singh, Vakíl of Sardár Hukkukut Singh of Ber (one of the Maloudh villages) reported to me the receipt of information from his master that a party of 50 Kukas passed through the village of Ber yesterday at noon, and in reply to enquiries said that they were going to Kotla; and that about two hours later another party of Kukas, said to be 40 or 50 strong, were seen seated in the grass preserve of the Sardár, and also said they were going to Kotla.

2. Anúp Singh, a sowar in the service of the Maloudh Sardár, was despatched from Kotla yesterday about 6½ P. M., with a letter for his master. On this side of Saroud, a village 3 kos from Kotla, he observed a party of 10 or 12 men travelling *off the road* in the direction of Kotla. Anúp Singh was relieved at Saroud, and immediately returned to Kotla, and, when about 1½ kos from Kotla, overtook a party, probably the same, but increased in numbers to about 20, still marching parallel to, but some way off the road in the direction of Kotla. I sent out a party of Patiála cavalry, with Anúp Singh as a guide, in search of these gangs, but they returned unsuccessful.

3. Since the outrage at Kotla several reports have been received of parties of Kukas from a distance having approached close to Kotla and then disappeared.

Dated Camp Maloudh, 20th January 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

In continuation of my letter of 19th instant, I have the honor to report that I proceeded yesterday to Maloudh, and held Sessions there for the trial of the prisoners who had been captured there and were concerned in the case of dacoity with murder. Four men were put on their trial, and convicted on their own confession, and sentenced to death. But it is not my intention to put this sentence into execution, because a sufficient example has been made, and all four of these men are most severely wounded and two have broken limbs. In a few days I propose to commute the sentence to transportation for life.

2. I have received a report from Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspector-General, that Colonel Baillie found 172 Kukas in the village of Bhaini, and the Subhas named in the margin. Four of these Subhas, *viz.*, the first four, were sent in to Ludiánah for despatch to Allahabad. The remainder are kept for the present in Ludiánah pending further orders. One hundred and twenty-two of the Kukàs have been sent to their homes. The remainder (50) having no homes, and no ostensible means of living,—being in fact a dangerous class of this sect, who, having sold all that they possessed, hold themselves in readiness to perform any act that their leaders may order,—will be called on to furnish security, or in default will be incarcerated for a period of two years according to law.

Brahma Singh, Kánh Singh, Nihang, Pahára Singh, Hukma Singh.

Fatteh Singh, Híra Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Khazán Singh, Harnám Singh, Harsa Singh, Samand Singh, Attar Singh, Dharm Singh.

I have ordered a small Police post to be established in Bhaini for the present.

A number of axes (30) were found in Rám Singh's house.

3. At Kotla, towards which place parties of Kukas have been flocking from all parts during this last week, but have suddenly disappeared when within a mile or two of the place, there is considerable apprehension of a second attack. I have therefore ordered the Nazim to raise 100 men well armed for the defence of the palace, and considering the miserable state of mis-government there, and the want of a head owing to the contention of three factions, I recommend that a Native or European Extra Assistant Commissioner be sent out to assume temporary charge. He need not interfere in the internal management of the State, but merely preserve order. In anticipation of approval, I have directed Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh to go there. I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of Government the misconduct of Gholám Muhammad Khán. He took himself off to Calcutta without leave, and without making proper arrangements for the administration of his estate. During his absence his son involved himself in a very unseemly row, and released men apprehended by the Nazim. To my repeated requests that he should return, Gholám Muhammad Khán has paid not the slightest heed, thus setting my authority at defiance. I have in this emergency attached his estate, and placed it under the management of the Nazim, for anarchy tempted the Kukas to make this attack; if allowed to continue, it may tempt them again.

4. In my letter announcing the deportation of Rám Singh I mentioned that he had reported the intention of his followers to the Police; this was said by me on the authority of the District Officer. But on examining the Police Officer yesterday I find that the case is not nearly so favorable to Rám Singh. An assemblage of (it is said by him) 1,000 Kukas were at Bhaini on the 11th and 12th January. During these two days there was of course free intercommunication amongst the leaders and their followers. On the 13th the Deputy Inspector heard that a body of 100 men, *mastána*, (*i. e.*, who had worked themselves into frenzied excitement and a state of desperation) had separated themselves from the rest, and were preparing to start for Kotla. Hearing this the Deputy Inspector went to Rám Singh, and asked what it all

meant. Rám Singh merely replied that they were *mastána*, and had passed beyond his control. The Deputy Inspector asked for a list of their names. Rám Singh only gave 13 names, and said he knew nothing about the rest, though their number by all accounts was not less than 100. The Deputy Inspector then called on Rám Singh to bid them go to their homes quietly, whereupon Rám Singh went to them, putting a handkerchief round his neck, and begging them to go away and not get *him* into a row. He *did not volunteer* information to the Police, and very little credit is deserved by him for complying with the demands of the Police Officers. Before me Rám Singh boasted of having given information. Had he done so on the 11th or 12th, or at any time voluntarily, his excuse might avail. But not till the last moment, when the party of *mastánas* was on the point of starting, and when the Deputy Inspector could not have time to send to head-quarters for aid to stop their proceedings, did Rám Singh confess that he had no authority over them, and in reply to the requisition of the Police Officer, made a feeble request to his followers not to get him into trouble. It was generally known at Bhaini what the plan of operations was to be. The Deputy Inspector reported to the Deputy Commissioner that Kotla was the first object of attack, and from several mouths, and particularly from one of the prisoners tried yesterday, we know that it was arranged at Bhaini and made known to all the Kukas that Kotla, being weak and torn with dissension, was to be the rendezvous where arms and money would easily be found; thence attacks were to be made on Nábha, Jínd and Patiála,—after which plans were not made. Messengers were sent off at once in various directions. Rúr Singh passed by rail to Amritsar. The clerk of my Court, happening to travel from Ludiánah to Ambálah at that time, saw ten Kukas in the train, three of whom got out at Khanna, and the rest came on to Ambálah. A few days after we have reports from villages round about Kotla of parties of Kukas being seen passing along, and when interrogated saying they are going to Kotla. One prisoner states that Lakka Singh, Subha, went to the *mastána* gang, and was called on by Híra Singh to join in the attack, so as to avenge the death of Gyani Singh, lately hanged at Ludiánah, and Lakka Singh promised to follow. Shortly after, Lakka Singh was found in Ludiánah. This may not be evidence of any guilty intention on Lakka Singh's part, but there can be no doubt of his knowing what Rám Singh's followers were doing, and he, as one of the chief Subhas, should have put himself in communication with the officials to aid in preventing the scenes of bloodshed which followed.

5. The events of the past week and of last year show that the Kukas are a dangerous sect, over whom their leader and Subhas have no influence for good, and it is advisable for the peace of the country that they should be prohibited from moving about the country inculcating their doctrines, and that gatherings of Kukas in larger numbers than ten or twelve should not be allowed.

6. It is also advisable not to leave Ludiánah entirely without troops of some kind for the present, until the movements of the Kuka sect cease to be troublesome.

7. I beg to bring to notice the energetic exertions of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, whose prompt action has put a stop to what threatened to be a serious outbreak. I regret exceedingly that his summary execution without trial should detract from the good service he has rendered; but I trust that the circumstances in which he was placed may be taken into consideration. Immediately on receipt of my orders he suspended proceedings, and proceeded to try in proper form the remaining prisoners. Colonel Perkins has accompanied Mr. Cowan throughout the whole time, and has been most energetic.

8. Colonel Baillie and Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspectors-General, have rendered valuable assistance. I have already alluded to the prompt assistance rendered by the Máharája of Patiála and the Rájas of Jínd and Nábha, whose services I trust may be acknowledged by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

9. There being no longer any necessity for the presence of European troops at Ludiánah, I recommend that the detachment of the 54th and Artillery be sent back to Jálandhar. Colonel Gough's party of 100 sowars and the Gurkha Regiment might be allowed to remain for the present.

10. I now return to Ambálah.

P. S.—Since writing this report I have received your telegram directing me to stop all summary executions without the Lieutenant-Governor's express orders. It will be seen that I had already done so, and I may here state that, on my arrival at Kotla, I found 30 men apprehended; of these 16 were put on their trial for being more or less prominent in the attack on Kotla, and, exercising the powers invested in the Commissioner, I sentenced them to death. Of the remaining 14, four have since been sentenced to transportation for life, and the remainder have not been punished.

No. 29 C., dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 24 C., of the 20th current, I am desired by the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor to forward copies of letters from the Commissioner of Ambálah dated 19th and 20th January, reporting proceedings in connection with the Kuka outbreak. Copy of the Deputy Commissioner's letter alluded to in the marginal note of the Commissioner's letter of the 19th instant is also sent. Copies of the other enclosures have already been furnished with my letter of the 20th instant.

Dated 20th January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I have the honor to report to you that an official of the Patiála State came to me to-day at Maloudh, by order of the Máharájah, and informed me that about three weeks before the

"Maghi melá" at Bhaini, twenty Kukas, whose names were given, residents of Sakraudi, in the Patiála State, where also resided Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, leaders of the insurgents, sold off all their property and proceeded with their leaders to Bhaini. These men were not again heard of until the day *after* the attack on Kotla, when six of them returned to their village and were at once arrested.

2. I have desired that these six men may be sent to Kotla, that their guilt or innocence may be enquired into by Narain Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

3. This previous preparation, coupled with all the information recently received of parties of Kukas from all parts having crowded towards Kotla about the time of the outrage, makes it manifest that the attack on Kotla was made solely with the view of possessing arms, and that, had this attack been successful, the rebels would in a few days have been joined by large numbers.

Dated Ambálah, 21st January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, copy of a report received from Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, who, according to my instructions, proceeded to Bhaini to search for arms or papers of importance in Rám Singh's house.

2. Colonel Baillie found 36 axes, 6 gandásas, several quoits, and 2 kukrís. Each of Rám Singh's immediate followers was possessed of one or more axes, a club, and some quoits. One of the axes shown to me as taken from a Kuka, was made of fine steel, and marked with the words "Akál Sahai" in Gurmukhi.

3. No papers of any importance were found. Colonel Baillie's report is very damaging to Rám Singh's character as the peaceful inculcator of pure morality and faith which he arrogates to himself. His forcible location of a set of followers, described as overbearing and bullying in their treatment of the villagers, and powerful ill-looking men, on lands taken from the villagers of Bhaini, is a very unfavorable indication of his intentions.

4. That the attack on Kotla was discussed, planned, and known amongst all the Kukas at Bhaini, some time before the party actually started, is asserted by Colonel Baillie, on the authority of the villagers, and this in effect is what some of the prisoners tried by me acknowledged. It is therefore evident that Rám Singh must have known what was going on, and *did not volunteer* to give any information. It was only when questioned by the Deputy Inspector that he admitted that a party of *mastánas* had got beyond his control, but even then he did not disclose their intention of going to Kotla. I have already alluded to this in a former letter. This fact, coupled with his admission

of knowledge of the proceedings of his followers in the Raikot and Amritsar murder cases, regarding which he acknowledges that he maintained complete silence, will doubtless have great weight with the Lieutenant-Governor when considering the necessity of the step which I took in summarily deporting Rám Singh.

5. As regards his property, some of which Colonel Baillie has on his own authority brought into Ludiánah, I request that orders may be given at an early date. Colonel Baillie conducted the search for arms in a regular and proper manner.

Dated 17th January 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., c. b., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambálah Division,
To—The Officiating Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore Circle.

I request that you will proceed with 25 sowars of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, and all the Police you can muster from the Ludiánah lines, to the village of Bhaini, and call on all the Subhas and Kukas who may be there to come in quietly to Ludiánah. These men should be disarmed of all gandásas, clubs or weapons of any kind. Having got the men out of the village, you should search carefully for arms or papers of importance. The search should be conducted in a regular manner according to law.

Should the Kukas offer any show of resistance, you are to order from Sanehwál one company of Gurkhas, which I have ordered to be halted there, and then take measures for the capture of the men, sending at the same time a report to me, both by sowar direct and also by telegraph from Sanehwál. You should leave a guard of Police and Sowars at Bhaini till further orders.

Dated 20th January 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore Circle,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I have the honor to report that, having, in accordance with your instructions, left Ludiánah on the evening of the 17th, accompanied by 25 troopers of the 12th Bengal Cavalry under Lieutenant and Adjutant Green, for the purpose of searching for and bringing in Rám Singh, the Kuka leader, I proceeded towards Maloudh, where he had last been heard of. On reaching Dehlon, I learnt that Rám Singh had left Maloudh that morning, with the avowed intention of returning to Bhaini. I therefore at once went across to Sanehwál, hoping to intercept him: he had, however, already reached Bhaini, I found on arrival at Sanehwál, and had been followed thither by a Deputy Inspector of Police, with an order to present himself without delay before you at Ludiánah: I resolved to await the result of this Deputy Inspector's mission before taking any further steps. In the course of an hour this Deputy Inspector himself (Sháwalli Shah) returned with the report that Rám Singh with Sáhib Singh and four others had left Bhaini for Ludiánah under escort of Deputy Inspector Guláb Singh; this information I at once reported to you by telegram.

2. From Deputy Inspector Sháwalli Shah I further learnt that there were still some 200 Kukas and eight Subhas assembled at Bhaini. He considered it doubtful whether they were altogether peaceably disposed. I thought it desirable to separate the Subhas from the rest; among them would also probably be found some of those for whose arrest the orders of Government had been received, and in their absence the remainder would be less likely to give trouble. I therefore directed the Deputy Inspector with a few Police to return to Bhaini and to send the Subhas to me if he could induce them to come quietly; if they refused, he was to send me word and to prevent them from leaving the village.

3. Towards morning I received by special train your instructions confirming me in the procedure I had entered upon, and to assist in carrying out which a party of 40 Gurkhas despatched by your orders reached me by the same train. I at once marched off the Gurkhas towards Bhaini, and was preparing to follow with the troopers when the six Subahs marginally named were brought in by the Police (five of these were men whose arrest had been specially ordered by Govèrnment). I delayed to secure seats for these by the up-train to Ludiánah, then due at Sanehwál, and at once left for Bhaini.

Káhn Singh.
Brahma Singh.
Pahára Singh.
Hukma Singh.
Gopál Singh.
Sujan Singh.

4. We found assembled on Rám Singh's premises a large number of Kukas (some 150) from all parts of the country; among them many "Bilumgums," or men who owned to no fixed place of residence, having attached themselves entirely to the Guru; there were also several women, many unaccompanied by any male relatives; these were at work at the spinning wheel, and seemed quite domesticated; food was in course of preparation at the Guru's langar for the whole party.

5. We obliged all to clear out, and assembled them on the road beyond the village. Thinking it undesirable that they should remain in the neighbourhood or disperse throughout the country, I had all marched into Ludiánah, with a recommendation that such as had come from Independent States should be made over to the Vakíls thereof, and that the others should be deported to their homes. I then proceeded to search Rám Singh's premises for arms and papers, in the presence of the lambardárs from three adjacent villages. The only weapons found were 36 axes, 6 gandásas, several quoits, a large number of clubs, and 2 kukrís (the latter were found in the hut occupied by Sáhib Singh, Subha). Each of Rám Singh's immediate followers was possessed of one or more axes, a club, and some quoits. The axes were all found concealed under the matting on which the bedding was spread, or hid away under the roof. No papers of importance were found, and no account books of any reliability, although it was known that several of these were regularly kept by Rám Singh; it is reported that he made away with them when the party left Bhaini for the attack on Maler Kotla.

6. The search (which occupied two days) was conducted from first to last under my immediate superintendence, and I was careful to see that nothing was made away with or injured. I found in various places

cash (about Rs. 1,500) and ornaments, gold and silver, to a considerable value. As these were for the most part in very insecure receptacles, I deemed it advisable to collect the whole in one strong box (after preparing a list of them) together with the more valuable shawls and embroidered chogás, and despatched the whole for deposit in the Treasury.

I also forwarded to the Sadr the boxes containing Rám Singh's wearing apparel. I then secured the premises under lock and key, and placed in charge a Police guard of 20 constables under Deputy Inspector Umrao Ali Shah.

7. All the hangers-on of the establishment I required to depart, except sufficient men (11) to look after the live stock, which consists of 82 head of horses, camels and horned cattle. I also permitted to remain three male and two female servants for attending to the wants of—

1—Jassa Singh, father of Rám Singh, age nearly 90.
2—Budh Singh, brother of Ditto age about 50.
3—Mussamát Nando, daughter of Do., with three sons (children).

The latter is married, but has been deserted by her husband. I also left Wariám Singh, the manager of the shop kept by Rám Singh, on his premises, and one Makhan Singh, the Guru's body servant.

8. The lambardárs informed me that treasure of at least two lacs was believed to be buried about the place; they thought it probable that arms had been similarly secreted. No thorough search could, however, be conducted without first clearing out the large stores of grain, bhúsa and fodder collected in different spots, which work I did not undertake.

9. In Bhaini itself Rám Singh was evidently most unpopular, but too much dreaded to be made the subject of open complaint to the authorities: he had completely gained the mastery over the lambardárs, whom he obliged, however unwillingly, to adopt his tenets; he had a few months ago forced them to give up a piece of ground to Malúk Singh, Subha, on which he had established a number of men from Sirsa, Firozpur, Nábha, Patiála, &c., much against the wishes of the lambardárs and people of Bhaini. Most of these immigrants were employed on the new canal works. They were described as most overbearing and bullying in their treatment of the villagers. All I saw were powerful, ill-looking men. Malúk Singh, being one of the proscribed Subhas, was sent for from the canal works (where he takes contracts), and despatched under escort to the Sadr; his followers were required by me to quit the village of Bhaini with their families in 24 hours. They were mere squatters, and had no land or connexions in the village.

10. With regard to the recent outbreak of the Kukas, I learnt that those who were most forward in bringing it about were Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh, Gopál Singh, Káhn Singh *alias* Nihang Singh, Budh Singh and Lehna Singh. (I think this information doubtful with regard to Budh Singh, the brother of Rám Singh, who has not very long adopted Kuka tenets.)

Lakka Singh was known to have departed for Phillour with the intention of getting up a band from thence. No one doubts in the village that Rám Singh entirely approved of the expedition, and that his tardy intimation to the authorities was mere "pesh-bandi" or a *ruse* to save himself in the event of a reverse. The Kukas we found assembled in Bhaini were also believed to be awaiting the turn of events, but the alarm spread so fast, and troops were so soon put in motion, that they feared to leave. The people in the village state that no disguise was made in their assemblies of the real ambitious schemes of the Kukas; they expressed surprise that so much moderation had been shown them for so long, and evinced the greatest pleasure in the anticipation that they had seen the last of Rám Singh and his melás at Bhaini.

Telegram, dated 22nd January 1872.

From—Secy. to Govt., Punjab, From—Dehli.	To—Deputy Commissioner, To—Ludiánah.

COMPLETE search should at once be made on Ram Singh's premises for arms and treasure, stated by villagers to be buried, but which Colonel Baillie has not done.

No. 35 C., dated 24th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letter No. 29 C., dated 23rd January 1872, I am desired to forward copy of a further report, dated 21st January, by Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B., on the subject of the Kuka outbreak, and to state, with reference to para. 8 of Colonel Baillie's letter forwarded by Mr. Forsyth, that orders have been given for a complete search to be made of Rám Singh's premises.

Dated Ludiánah, 22nd January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

ORDER having been restored, and there being no longer any apprehension of an attack on the Civil buildings, I have requested the Officer Commanding to remove the Gurkha Guard at the Jail.

2. The large force now at Ludiánah is no longer required. Should it be deemed advisable to retain a small detachment here, its location will be made the subject of a future reference.

Dated 22nd January 1872.

COPY of the above forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Telegram, dated 23rd January 1872.

From—Secretary to Govt., Punjab, | To—Secy. to Govt. of India, Home Dept.,
From—Dehli. | To—Calcutta.

EVERYTHING up to this time has remained perfectly quiet in Ludiánah and elsewhere.

No. 27, dated Ambálah, 22nd January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Supdt., Ambalah Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to forward the explanation* called for from Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, in your No. 22 C., dated 18th instant.

* Letter dated 21st January 1872, from Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

2. I also forward copy of instructions which I sent to Mr. Cowan, and refer you to my telegram to you (copy sent herewith) and your reply, and to my official letter of 18th instant, to Mr. Cowan, copy of which I forwarded to you some days ago.

3. In considering Mr. Cowan's proceedings, it is necessary to distinguish between acts done in British territory and those done in Native States to which our Penal and Procedure Codes do not apply.

4. The procedure in subordinate Native States, such as Kotla, is for the Head of the State to prepare a case of murder by taking evidence of witnesses, defence of accused, &c., then to pass sentence and forward the case for sanction of the Commissioner of the Division.

5. As His Honor is aware, I from the outset deprecated any departure from the regular course, and sent out instructions at once to Mr. Cowan to this effect. They unfortunately did not arrive till he had disposed of 50 men.

6. I regret exceedingly this hasty action on Mr. Cowan's part. His reason for such is that he felt it necessary to stamp out the incipient rebellion by a swift and terrible punishment. That his prompt and vigorous action had this effect is, I think, undoubted.

7. A party of 100 men, who had devoted themselves to death to carry out the plans of their leader, left the village of their Guru with the intention of seizing the defenceless State of Maler Kotla, and possess themselves of arms and treasure, to be distributed to the rest of their sect who were to flock round Kotla from all sides.

8. As they passed Maloudh, a sudden impulse prompted them to attack that place. Had all the men been caught at Maloudh, all would have been liable, under Section 396,† Indian Penal Code, to sentence of death. But probably it would have been considered that all were not equally guilty, as all might not have clearly apprehended the nature of the expedition on which they had embarked. Moreover, the British Government is strong enough to maintain order without having recourse to wholesale executions in order to create a deterrent effect.

† Dacoity with murder.

9. The case, however, was very different when the same party passed on to Kotla. Not one of those men could plead ignorance of the object in pursuit. They knew that blood rested on the head of the whole gang, and that they would probably shed more blood. No mercy then could be expected by them at the hands of the State they were to attack. Nor could the Maler Kotla State afford to show any signs of weakness. They had been attacked once, and unless the assailants were thoroughly cowed, they might be attacked again. It was, in fact, from fear of a second attack by a larger body of Kukas that the Nazim returned so suddenly to Kotla from Rúr, whither he had followed the gang.

10. It appeared to me then only right that a severe and prompt example should be made, and I was prepared to confirm the sentence of death against all those proved on trial to have been actually engaged in the attack upon Kotla. I should certainly have exempted from capital punishment those who had been severely wounded, and their number was nearly 20, but all the rest I should have condemned to death, and in fact did condemn 16 men after fair trial.

11. Mr. Cowan's action placed me in an embarrassing position. When I first received his report I was under the impression that he had conducted the proceedings according to the custom in Native States, and had merely usurped my powers of sanction. It seemed to me an unworthy act to suddenly disown the over-zealous proceedings of an officer to whom the Lieutenant-Governor had just sent a telegram applauding his energy and zeal, with reference to my own suggestion to moderate that zeal.

12. I therefore determined to confirm Mr. Cowan's acts so far as regards his usurpation of the Commissioner's authority. As there are no records of trial, none being held by him, I am unable to do otherwise than accept Mr. Cowan's assurances that all the men were actually present at the attack on Kotla, and, if so, all were equally liable to capital punishment, though, as regards those severely wounded, execution ought to have been stayed.

13. Had I at once disavowed Mr. Cowan's acts, and mitigated the sentence on those who were subsequently regularly tried and convicted, after the proceedings had been sent to me, at a time, too, when bands of Kukas were flocking to Kotla to join the advance party, leniency on my part might have been mistaken for weakness. I therefore allowed the full sentence to be executed as regards these Kotla assailants whose active complicity was legally established. But I took occasion of the trial of the men concerned in the Maloudh murders to mitigate the severity of the former proceedings, and a telegram received the next day from you, conveying the Lieutenant-Governor's orders, confirmed the judgment I had arrived at.

14. Whilst lamenting the hasty and irregular action of Mr. Cowan, I am bound to express my conviction that the very prompt and terrible measures taken by him crushed in its birth a very serious outbreak, and I trust the excellent service he has rendered may weigh against the irregularity and severity of procedure.

Dated 21st January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of letter from the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, No. 22 C., dated 18th instant, forwarded to me by your precept of yesterday's date; and to reply as follows.

2. When I reached Kotla the situation was very grave. The greatest alarm and consternation prevailed throughout this part of the country. Fields were deserted, and all ordinary occupations abandoned by the people of the villages between Ludiánah and Kotla. The men were collected in crowds in the gateways of the villages, and the women on the house-tops, eager for information, which reached them in an exaggerated form.

3. On reaching Kotla, I found that the rebel gang had been captured a few miles off in the Patiála State. I received information that small parties of Kukas were flocking towards Kotla from distant parts, and I learned that the troops of the Kotla State had given up the pursuit of the rebels, and returned to Kotla to protect the town from another expected attack. As the contingents from adjoining Native States had arrived or were close at hand, I felt confident that, in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangements I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotla or any place in its neighbourhood; but that a terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a *rebellion*, and to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages at a future time. I therefore determined to execute near the scene of their crime a number of the rebels who were taken red-handed, and all of whom confessed their crime, and to execute the remainder at Maloudh. I arrived at this determination after long and painful thought. I was sensible of the great responsibility I was incurring, but I acted on the honest conviction that what I did was in the best interests of Government and of society.

4. The later information received confirms the belief that a serious outbreak was intended, and that matters were precipitated by the hasty action of this fanatical party before the arrangements of the leaders were fully matured. For several days after the attack parties of Kukas arrived from all parts, and, on hearing of the fate of their brethren, instantly dispersed and disappeared. Had the large number of rebels captured been detained in custody to await a formal trial, there is not the slightest doubt that similar atrocities would have been committed in other parts, and that a state of anarchy would have followed.

5. With this explanation I leave myself in the hands of the Government. I acted from no vain motive, or from cruelty, or a desire to display authority. It was my sincere conviction that the punishment, terrible as it was, was imperatively necessary to prevent the spread of an insurrection. One or two petty successes in other parts by other

parties of Kukas would have caused great numbers to flock to the rebel standard, and the difficulties of Government would have been increased. I most conscientiously believe that the executions at Kotla prevented a much more serious rising.

Demi-official letter, dated 17th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,

To—The Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

YOU have done *admirably*, but for heaven's sake don't let the whole thing fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotla territory, they can be hanged legally, without the delay of sending the case to the Chief Court, by attending to the form usual in all such cases, *i. e.*, sending up the proceedings to me; and, to save time and trouble, I am going out to Kotla as soon as I have disposed of Rám Singh. But if you hang (yourself) these men, *i. e.*, the men caught at Maloudh, you will fall short of perfect success. A delay of twelve hours cannot produce harm, whereas illegal action may cause trouble. I only wait for Rám Singh to come in to-morrow morning, and I shall be out at once.

No. 36 C., dated 26th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, a letter from the Commissioner, Ambálah Division, No. 27, dated 22nd January, with enclosure, on the subject of the action taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, on the occasion of the late Kuka outbreak.

2. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that Mr. Cowan acted with great promptitude and energy in calling out the Jínd and Nábha horse and going himself at once to Maler Kotla to aid in the defence of that place and the suppression of the disturbance.

3. As regards the executions ordered and carried out by him in concert with the Maler Kotla authorities, the Lieutenant-Governor believes that he acted, as he thought, for the best, and under a strong sense of his personal responsibility for the adoption of the promptest measures for securing the peace of the country. And His Honor considers that much allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed, and for his being unable to judge certainly to how many places the Kuka outbreak extended, and in what degree it might gain head by delay in the infliction of punishment.

4. But considering that the Commissioner was close at hand, and that many of the prisoners taken were wounded and all greatly dispirited, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that Mr. Cowan would have shewn more coolness and discretion had he obtained the previous

sanction of his proceedings by superior authority. It is clear, however, that this sanction would not have been withheld, as on his arrival the Commissioner sentenced sixteen more prisoners to death after trial, and in doing so it may be held that he did not exceed the authority vested in him as the Ex-officio Political Agent for the Maler Kotla State.

5. It may, no doubt, be reasonably questioned whether so many capital executions were, even under circumstances so trying, necessary or expedient, and whether an example equally deterrent might not have been made by a less indiscriminate sentence. The Lieutenant-Governor himself inclines to this opinion; but, on the other hand, it is certain that all the prisoners executed were, even under the ordinary criminal law of the British territory, guilty of capital offences, whilst the position and antecedents of the Maler Kotla State, as a solitary Muhammadan principality, constantly exposed to fanatical attacks, strongly impelled its authorities and inhabitants to advocate, as a measure of security, their repression by the severest punishment. It is stated that the Kotwal returned to the town apprehensive of a repeated attack, and both the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner allude to parties of Kukas flocking round Maler Kotla and creating fresh alarm. The authorities on the spot could alone correctly judge of the tendency of such demonstrations, and, in His Honor's opinion, the action taken in good faith by them must be supported.

6. Adverting to para. 11 of the Commissioner's letter, from which it might erroneously be inferred that the Lieutenant-Governor had approved of the numerous executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, copies of the telegrams in question are herewith submitted. Writing in total ignorance of the large number of executions eventually carried out, the Lieutenant-Governor, whilst supporting the Commissioner in his enforcement of regular judicial procedure and so checking the Deputy Commissioner's precipitancy, was desirous at the same time of evincing his appreciation of the zeal and energy shown by him in following up the case.

No. 37 C., dated 26th January 1872.

COPY forwarded to Commissioner, Ambálah, with the intimation that it is very desirable that he should support by all the evidence he can obtain the statements made in paras. 7 and 13.

Dated Ambálah, 3rd February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

WITH reference to your letter No. 37C., dated 26th January 1872, forwarding, for my information, copy of your letter to Government of India, regarding the action taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, on the occasion of the Kuka outbreak, in which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor expresses his opinion that so many capital executions, even under so trying circumstances, were neither necessary nor expedient, I wish to make the following remarks.

2. From the telegram which I sent to you from Ludiánah dated 17th January, and the letter I addressed to Mr. Cowan on the same day, in which I deprecated summary executions without attention to all legal forms to secure justice, it will be sufficiently apparent that there was a decided reluctance on my part to deviate from the strictly legal course, and my subsequent action has been held by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to have been within the authority vested in me as Ex-officio Political Agent for the Maler Kotla State.

3. It never was my design to cause it to be inferred that His Honor's reply to my telegram conveyed an approval of executions subsequently carried out by Mr. Cowan, nor, if the passage in my letter be carefully read, could any such inference be drawn, without a palpable anachronism which would at once destroy that inference.

4. Undoubtedly I inferred from that telegram that promptitude and energy in awarding punishment, coupled, of course, with discretion, were desired. The question of discretion is one on which His Honor has decided against Mr. Cowan and me, though I acknowledge with much thanks the very generous manner in which His Honor has expressed an opinion that the action taken by the authorities on the spot, in good faith, must be supported.

5. I have just submitted a mass of evidence, which shews very conclusively that the Kuka outbreak was in reality even more formidable if possible than we at the first had reason to believe it to be, and I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that the prompt measures dealt to a gang, who went forth from Bhaini determined to seize Kotla and so to commence a rebellion the end of which it is difficult to foresee, but of which the very next step would have been to plunge the province into war (for which in fact His Honor was making active preparations), and thus to involve hundreds, perhaps thousands, in death or misery, were necessary and expedient, and that the sixteen men who were proved to have belonged to the gang at Kotla were righteously sentenced to death, and that their fate was not affected by the irregularity or severity of Mr. Cowan's proceedings.

6. With the evidence now before him, I trust that His Honor may be enabled to coincide with the judgment I have formed, both as to the magnitude of the crisis and the necessity for severe justice.

No. 35, dated Ambálah, 24th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehlí.

I UNDERSTAND from you that one or two of my official letters give the impression that I consider the measure of deporting Rám Singh was one taken on my own responsibility, whereas the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor had given me special instructions to arrest and deport Rám Singh.

2. It will be as well for me to place on record facts, and to explain the passages in my letters to which you have referred.

3. I was in His Honor's Camp when the news of the first attack on Maloudh was received. His Honor will remember that a conference was held by him with the Inspector-General of Police and yourself, at which I was present. I then received verbal instructions to proceed to Ludiánah and report, before any orders would be given about Rám Singh. Subsequently the news of the second attack was received, and then it was decided that more extensive measures should be taken. I certainly understood that I was to arrest and deport Rám Singh, but I as clearly understood from His Honor that I was to receive written instructions on the subject.

4. I looked for those instructions up to the time of my arresting Rám Singh, but all that I received were the orders to arrest and deport sundry Subhas.

5. I did not delay action because of the non-arrival of the orders, but knowing full well that written orders are the rule, and that all action taken on verbal instructions throws a certain amount of responsibility on the officer taking that action, I gave my reasons in full for summarily deporting Rám Singh. I might have merely quoted His Honor's verbal instructions and looked for official ratification, which possibly for good reasons it might have been proper to withhold. What you appear to consider a defence of my conduct was in reality an explanation of the causes which would justify the measure taken by the Punjab authorities.

6. It was for this reason that I wrote, and not from any desire to arrogate to myself credit where credit was not due.

7. I shall feel obliged if you will cause this letter to be appended as a continuation to my report of Rám Singh's deportation, dated 18th January.

No. 38 C., dated 27th January 1872.

From—L. Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In forwarding, in continuation of my despatch No. 23 C., dated 19th current, the accompanying copy of letter No. 35, dated 24th January, from Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B., Commissioner of Ambálah, on the subject of the arrest and deportation of Rám Singh, I am desired to observe that Mr. Forsyth could be under no possible doubt as to what was to be done, as he was present when the Lieutenant-Governor explained to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that a portion of the troops sent up from Dehli would be required to aid in securing Rám Singh.

No. 102, dated Fort William, 22nd January 1872.

From—E. C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Government of India, Home Dept.,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 9 C. and 15 C., dated, respectively, the 16th and 17th instant, reporting particulars connected with the attacks made by certain Kukas on the Fort

of Maloudh and Kotla, and in reply I am desired to state that the Governor-General in Council is pleased to approve the action taken by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. Warrants of custody under Regulation III. of 1818, against Rám Singh and his Subhas (named in your letters) have been sent direct to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

Nos. 41-2, dated Ludiánah, 30th January 1872.

COPIES forwarded to Commissioner, Ambálah, and Inspector-General, Police, for information.

No. 122, dated Fort William, 24th January 1872.

From—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Government of India, Home Dept.,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I AM directed to acknowledge your letters quoted in the margin, reporting on the recent attack by fanatical Kukas on Maloudh and Maler Kotla.

No. 23 C., dated 19th January 1872.
,, 24 C., dated 20th ,, ,,

2. The Governor-General has already by telegraph approved generally of the action taken by the Lieutenant-Governor in despatching troops to the seat of the disturbance and in arresting and removing from the neighbourhood Rám Singh and his most influential Subhas. Warrants for their detention under Regulation III. of 1818 have been already sent to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

3. The local officers acted with promptitude and vigour on the first intelligence of the disturbance, but the subsequent proceedings seem to require serious notice. His Honor states that, "he regrets the "course taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, Mr. Cowan, in "summarily executing the Kuka insurgents captured in the Patiála "territory." The Government of India fully shares in the regret expressed by His Honor, and is of opinion that the papers submitted show nothing to justify the course taken.

4. Under the circumstances His Excellency in Council feels constrained to request that you will suspend Mr. Cowan until further orders, and awaits with anxiety such explanation as Mr. Cowan may have to offer, and the expression of His Honor's opinion on the whole subject.

5. The loyal, prompt, and efficient assistance given by the troops and the officers of the Patiála, Nábha and Jínd States no doubt contributed materially to the suppression of disturbances, and to prevent their spread. I am to express His Excellency's entire satisfaction with their conduct.

Telegram, dated 29th January 1872.

From—Offg. Secy. to Govt., Punjab, | To—Secy. to Govt. of India, Home Dept.,
From—Dehli, | To—Calcutta.

YOUR letter No. 122, dated the 24th of January.

The Lieutenant-Governor requests that action in accordance with the 4th paragraph of your letter may be delayed until receipt of my letter of the 27th instant, containing His Honor's views and the Deputy Commissioner's explanation. He observes that the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner can hardly be considered apart from that of the Commissioner of the Division.

No. 38, dated 24th January 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commr. and Supdt., Ambâlah Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to submit the accompanying note regarding the Kuka sect for His Honor's perusal.

At a time when public feeling has been aroused by the sudden outbreak of the Kuka sect, there is a tendency to believe the very worst concerning the motives which prompted the men to commit deeds of violence.

As regards the band of *mastánas* who sallied forth from Bhaini to commit murder, it is not necessary to palliate their conduct. In all causes, however good, there are always some ill-judged parties who would propagate their opinions by fire and sword; and violent disturbers of the peace have to be dealt with as offenders against the law, whatever their ulterior motives may be.

But it is advisable to consider the intentions of the leader of this sect, and of his principal followers.

Originally the idea of Rám Singh was to restore the Sikh religion to its pristine purity, and to do away with the innovations which have crept into it, such as consulting Brahmins, worshipping idols, and the like.

The belief of the sect appeared to be a pure deism, and their tenets have been fully described in the Selected Papers No. XV., published by the Inspector-General of Police, from which the following extract is made:—

"They hold that God is one, not made or born, but existing by himself; and they appear to hold in utter reprobation the Hindu belief of various incarnations of the deity. They inculcate a very strict morality, condemning most strongly lying, theft, and adultery; and appear anxious merely to renew the Sikh religion in its original state of purity, and to eradicate the errors which have, from time to time, defiled it. All with whom I have conversed on the subject, laugh at the idea of the movement having any political significance, and regard it simply as a religious one. There is no doubt that all Sikhs, and the Kukas among them, would be glad to see their own rule re-established; but I do not think that any danger is to be apprehended from the spread of this sect, further than the well-known fact that in any disturbance,

very strict religionists or fanatics of any denomination are apt to let their passions carry them away, and to be more desperate than those who are more careless in their religious views. As a proof of this I may mention the state of ecstasy into which the disciples of this sect fall, and which all the Sikhs with whom I have conversed on the subject attribute to great mental excitement."

That the pure form of morality aimed at by Rám Singh has not been adhered to, seems to be placed beyond question, though whether the charge of gross immorality brought against Rám Singh and his chief Subhas is altogether just, I take leave to doubt. But, whether moral or immoral, there was not till last year any sign of intention on their part to disturb the public peace. Offensive acts against Muhammadans, defiling their graves, &c., had been brought home to this sect some years ago, but no open act of hostility was ventured on.

Gradually, however, as the sect increased in numbers and power, the idea seems to have sprung up. I don't think we have proof that it was inculcated by Rám Singh—that the process of reforming the Sikh religion should pass from the initiative stage of preaching to the more active one of practice, and that efforts should be made to put a stop to cow-killing. Unfortunately the means taken to arrive at that end involved the whole sect in the suspicion of being implicated, by sympathy, in the crime of murder. So long as they protested, without proceeding to acts of violence, against cow-killing, they were very likely to have the sympathies of the whole Hindu population on their side, and even since the Amritsar and Raikot tragedies, there are not found wanting Hindus who strongly deprecate the condemnation of the whole Kuka sect because of the crimes of an evil few.

Up to the time of those butcher murders, there was little real apprehension of this Kuka sect acquiring political importance. It was of course freely said at times and by certain people that the real aim of Bhai Rám Singh and his followers was to restore the Khálsa, and to subvert the British power, and the language of some violent and ill-judged Kukas gave colour to such apprehensions. But there was nothing up to the beginning of 1871 to give cause for real alarm.

Since, however, the whole sect was plunged into suspicion by the murders committed with the knowledge, if not with the sanction, of the Guru, events have progressed more rapidly. It would be quite in accordance with our ideas of things, that the more daring spirits should urge their Guru to assume a political part, and endeavour to proclaim the Sikh rule. We have not sufficient proof as yet that they had passed into so advanced a stage. But they had taken up a position, with reference to the religious element, which is fraught with danger. The meeting at Bhaini ostensibly sent forth the band of *mastánas* to avenge the death of Gyani Singh. Now Gyani Singh had been hanged for compassing the murder of butchers, who had been killed for slaying kine. Thus these *mastánas* were going forth to re-assert in a violent form the doctrine that cow-killing is a crime in the eyes of all good Sikhs. Designing Subhas doubtless took advantage of the religious fervour of these followers to raise a kind of *Jehád* against all cow-killers, hoping

and intending probably to increase their strength sufficiently to enable them to restore the Sikh rule. Of their ulterior views we have no positive certainty. Of their crusade against cow-killing we have painfully patent evidence.

It has been remarked to me by a native gentleman, whose advice in 1857 I found of considerable value:—"What is the object of these Kukas? Is it religious zeal, or is it a spirit of rebellion? If it be religious zeal, you cannot go on hanging and deporting the whole sect; punish criminals of course, but listen to the representations of the leaders. If rebellion be their aim, then there is the army to protect you. But if it be religious zeal, then take steps so to conciliate the sect as to avert the repetition of such scenes as took place at Maler Kotla. Cow-killing undoubtedly must always be allowed, wherever the liberty guaranteed under the Queen's proclamation extends. But it would not be an infringement of that liberty, nor would it be derogatory to a great Government to pay so much respect to the feelings of a large and important part of Her Majesty's subjects, as to rule that in places like Amritsar, the cradle of the Sikh religion, cow-killing should not be permitted." Some such order, I understand, was given as regards Hardwár in 1843, but for this I have only the authority of my native friend, who says he was in office in Sahâranpur at the time.

I asked him whether the grant of such an indulgence, as regards Amritsar, would not be mis-interpreted by the Sikhs and Hindus into a sign of weakness, and whether it would not lead to a demand for the universal prohibition of cow-killing, and to a repetition of these murders. This he denied.

I do not offer an opinion on the propriety of acceding to such a request, supposing it to be made, regarding Amritsar, but I have been much struck with the importance of separating the religious from the political portion of the question.

If there be widespread dissatisfaction on religious grounds, and if the Kukas have touched a cord of sympathy in the hearts of all Hindus and Sikhs, however much the Kukas may have injured their cause by the excesses lately committed, their co-religionists will be slow to believe that Rám Singh's followers are really aiming at sovereignty, and they will secretly look upon the sect as persecuted for its proper religious convictions.

Would it not be advisable then to come to some understanding with these people as to the real object of their movement, and to redress real grievances, or to dissipate erroneous ideas?

I offer these remarks for such as they are worth, to the head of the Government for consideration.

No. 40 C., dated 30th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 35, dated 24th instant, on the subject of the Kuka sect.

Copy of parás. 1 to 5 of a letter No. 26, dated 26th January 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

ON receipt of the telegram,* copy of which accompanies, I deputed Mr. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent of Police, to make a thorough search of Rám Singh's premises at Bhaini for arms and treasure.

*Office Note. Telegram of Secretary to Government, Dehli, dated 22nd January 1872.

2. Mr. Jackson has returned, and reports that he has made a complete search, digging up ground to a considerable depth wherever he thought it likely that arms or treasure might be buried, but that no trace of either has been found.

3. Rám Singh's income was large from the gifts of his followers; notably large sums were given to him by Mangal Singh, a jagírdár or Sardár of the Patiála State, recently put under arrest by the Maharajah, but his expenses were great. He fed large numbers of persons, and it is not believed that he accumulated treasure. Rám Singh was in the habit of lending money to his followers, and in this way possibly a great deal of money was distributed, and it is believed that when large sums came in, the Subhas, Lakka Singh, Sobah Singh, and Gopál Singh, appropriated a good portion to their own use.

4. Colonel Baillie attached all the personal property of Rám Singh, including grain (not a large store), clothing, ornaments, &c., and I learnt a few days ago, with some surprise, that the native Police officer at Bhaini was serving out rations to the members of Rám Singh's family out of this store of grain. As this proceeding is, I believe, in excess of your instructions, as I understood them, and is moreover quite unnecessary, I have directed that the grain, household implements, &c., may be made over to the father, brother, and daughter, who are residing at Bhaini.

5. The clothing, ornaments, and money found in the house, were sent to me by Colonel Baillie. Their value does not probably exceed Rs. 2,000. I have addressed the Magistrate of Allahabad to know if I shall send Rám Singh's wardrobe to him, and have desired he will ask Rám Singh to whom I shall make over the money and ornaments.

Dated Ambálah, 28th January 1872.

COPY of the foregoing forwarded to L. Griffin, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

No. 43C., dated 30th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

WITH reference to letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, to your address, No. 26, dated 26th January, para. 5, I am to state that none of the money or ornaments in question should be made over to any nominee of Rám Singh without the direct orders of Government.

2. It is presumed that the statement of Bhagwán Singh has been formally recorded, and will be forwarded in due course.

No. 44 C., dated 30th January 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 35 C., dated 24th January, I am desired to forward copy of the report submitted by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, No. 26, dated 26th January, of the result of the search of Rám Singh's premises at Bhaini. Copy of my reply to the Commissioner, Ambálah Division, is also forwarded for information.

Dated Lahore, 21st January 1872.

From—Lieut.-Col. Baillie, Offg. Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore Circle,

To—The Inspector-General, Police, Punjab.

I have the honor to furnish, for your information, the following particulars regarding events connected with the recent outbreak of Kukas in the Lúdiánah District, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

2. After the prohibition by Government against Rám Singh and his chief Subhas visiting Mokatsar for the "Maghí," it was generally known that Rám Singh had invited all his followers to hold that festival with him in Bhaini, when it was said that "some important orders would issue."* A very large gathering was not, however, anticipated, the more quietly-disposed of the sect showing little inclination to attend, but it appears that *all* Subhas of note complied with Rám Singh's bidding, and repaired to Bhaini. The prohibition against their attending fairs was not held to extend to their visiting Bhaini, and they were therefore allowed to proceed thither without restriction.

* This was published at Lahore, by one Makhan Singh, at least 15 days before the Maghi. The fact was duly reported, but little attention was paid to what seemed mere vapouring.
J. C. P. B.

3. The assemblage at the Maghi (on 12th instant), was after all then a very large one; many new Granths had been opened and were being read through in memory of the Kukas who had nobly given their lives for the suppression of kine-killing; their heroism and virtues, more particularly those of Gyani Singh, were highly extolled and formed the subject of many exciting chaunts; the imperative duty of avenging their death was urged, and it was pressed upon Rám Singh that the time was now come to strike another blow for the supremacy of the Khálsa ráj, which it was his special mission to revive. An attack on the Maler Kotla fort was suggested by the Sakraudi Sardárs Lehna Singh and Híra Singh; these men had been ever foremost in violent demonstrations. They were well seconded by Sáhib Singh and Lakka Singh, the Subhas immediately attached to Rám Singh's person. It is not reported that Rám Singh used his influence to suppress this tendency to violence on the part of his followers, but the

lambardárs of the village (who, though Kukas under compulsion, are by no means enthusiasts) became alarmed and communicated to the Police at the Sanehwál thana the excited state into which the Kukas had worked themselves up. The Deputy Inspector (Sarfaráz Khan) then went to Bhaini, anticipating that further butcher outrages might ensue, and questioned Rám Singh as to what was in contemplation. It is reported that he at first remained silent, and would say nothing, but ultimately said that some of his followers had become *mustána* (signifying a state of religious frenzy) and were beyond his control; that Government might take their own measures. The Deputy Inspector, ascertaining in what direction this party had left, lost no time in sending after them; the Sergeant deputed on this duty followed them, it appears, until he learned of their having passed out of British territory into Patiála, when he most inexcusably returned to the thana.

4. The next thing heard of the Kuka band was their attack on Maloudh, accompanied with the killing of two of the Sardárs (Baddan Singh's) followers, and the severe wounding of the Sardár himself. This outrage does not appear to have been premeditated at starting, but to have suggested itself to the Kukas, *en route* to Maler Kotla, as a favorable opportunity for securing some arms, horses and money.

5. *After* receipt of the intelligence of this attack on Maloudh in Ludiánah, Lakka Singh arrived, commissioned to intimate to the authorities, by order of the Guru, that a band of his followers had become *mastánas* and beyond his control; that they had gone off in that state, and that he could not be responsible for their actions; he begged the authorities would look after them. This very tardily-conveyed information was so culpably a blind, that the complicity of the Guru in the volent acts of his followers could no longer be a matter of doubt. Lakka Singh was moreover known to have but just returned from the Philour ilaqua where his movements had been viewed with suspicion, had brought about his temporary detention, and had formed the subject of reference between the Jálandhar and Ludiánah Magistrates: he was notoriously one of the most daring and dangerous of the Kuka leaders. He was at once placed in custody. It is now known for certain that his object in visiting Philour was to raise a band for the purpose of joining in any expedition of violence that might be decided upon.

6. After the departure of the party of *mastánas* Rám Singh appears to have remained at home surrounded by his Subhas, and a very large assemblage of his followers, watching the course of events; he appears to have kept them together for some purpose of his own, for the object of their assembling, *viz.*, the Maghi festival, had been accomplished two days before.

7. It is said that in this interval a second expedition was planned against Ludiánah, but which was deferred until the result of the attack on Maler Kotla could be known. Some surprise has been expressed that Maler Kotla should have been selected for the first assault, but when it is remembered who were the leaders, and the opportunities they had for knowing the prevailing arrangements for defence (presumably somewhat less efficient than usual during the present interregnum); considering the isolated situation, not readily accessible to British troops;

that in the surrounding country the sect mustered very strong, and that once in possession of the fort, Kukas might be expected to flock in thousands to that rallying-point; all these things considered, the selection of Maler Kotla for the first attack appears to have been neither a random nor injudicious one.

8. In the meantime Rám Singh had been summoned to meet the Deputy Commissioner at Maloudh, and he thought it prudent to obey that summons promptly: he arrived just as Mr. Cowan was about to start for Maler Kotla; he was not examined, but received an order to return at once to Bhaini; he left in a sullen mood, remarking that it —e better to die than to be subjected to such indignities; he doubtless en for the first time the full extent of the failure of the *mas-* l at Maler Kotla, and of the capture of nearly the entire r, in Patiála; he lost no time in returning to Bhaini, and ve the signal to his followers to disperse; a few departed, referred to wait till matters had somewhat quieted down, f found with the Guru they would pass, as he had the authorities as a harmless devotee, and not in any with the fanatical few who brought the sect into of violence. The Subhas, to a man, appear to have

ht (17th) *Rám* Singh was again summoned— mmissioner at Ludiánah,—and again prudence ply; somewhat later the Subhas wer me at Sanehwál, and also though he Kukas still assembled ther jab, ; but they had learned by t inst them, that troops ated 23rd January, mblem of a Kuka wance granted to und collected at Rám Fort on receipt l the next mornin be instructed to the course of t' orsyth

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[illegible] was no secret in the village, as the restoration of the Khálsa raj was the prevailing topic of discourse, and the ever-recurring theme of [illegible] verses chanted by vast assemblages at Rám Singh's [illegible].

No. [illegible], dated [illegible] January 1872.

From—[illegible], Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

With reference to your letter without No. and date, forwarding Colonel [illegible]'s report dated the 21st January, on the Kuka outbreak, I am to remark as follows.

2. With reference to para. 3, I am to enquire whether the Granths newly opened at Bhaini have been obtained and examined. Were they the ordinary Granths of Nának and Govind Singh, or new works? To what authorities were the facts noted in that para. reported? His Honor has no recollection of their being reported to him.

3. Is the title of Sardár, applied to Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, rightly applied?

4. Why did not the Deputy Inspector, Police, himself follow the party of Kukas, instead of deputing a Sergeant to this important duty? By whom and in what way was the report made of the attack [illegible] Sardár's house at Malodh?

[illegible] what evidence is it stated that Lakka Singh visited Philour [illegible] for the purpose of joining in any expedition which might [illegible]?

[illegible] the statement that "in this interval a [illegible] against Ludiánah?"

[illegible] the statement in the last para. of [illegible] the discourse and customary recitations [illegible] Bhaini?

[illegible] that [illegible] lose most of their value, [illegible] texts are [illegible]orted by evidence, which [illegible] writer's [illegible] which the Government [illegible] reasonable it [illegible] correct impression of the [illegible]

[illegible] 23rd Janua[ry] [illegible]

[illegible] [Com]missioner and Su[perintendent] [illegible] Punjab.

[illegible] [lett]er from the [illegible] of a memo. fr[om] [illegible] [Am]bálah Circle, [illegible] Magist[rate] [illegible]

[illegible] was [illegible]
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6. After the departure of the [illegible] appears to have remained at home su[illegible] very large assemblage of his followers, [illegible] he appears to have kept them together for [illegible] the object of their assembling, *viz.*, the [illegible] accomplished two days before.

7. It is said that in this interval a second [illegible] against Ludiánah, but which was deferred until th[illegible] on Maler Kotla could be known. Some surprise has [illegible] Maler Kotla should have been selected for the first a[illegible] is remembered who were the leaders, and the opport[unity] [illegible] for knowing the prevailing arrangements for defenc[e] [illegible] what less efficient than usual during the present [illegible] sidering the isolated situation, not readily accessib[le] [illegible]

No. 42, dated Allahabad, the 20th January 1872.

From—J. C. ROBERTSON, Esq., Magistrate, Allahabad,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

Rám Singh.
Lakka Singh.
Sáhib Singh.
Jowáhir Singh.
Rúr Singh.

IN reply to your letter dated 17th January, I have the honor to inform you that the men marginally noted have been received by me and lodged in the fort; the last mentioned man arrived on the night of 18th under charge of Mr. Lemarchand

I have advanced Rs. 139-14-9 for Railway expenses to Mr. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent of Police, who came down in charge of the prisoners, and request that you will remit me that amount.

I have also authorized the officer commanding the station to allow each prisoner diet money at four annas per day, and the servant one anna, and shall be obliged by your informing me whether I am to send the bills to you.

Dated Ludiánah, 22nd January 1872.

Memorandum by Captain O. MENZIES, Offg. Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambálah Circle.

Rs. 139-14-9 asked for by Magistrate of Allahabad, have this day been remitted to him by me.

No. 46 C., dated 30th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

WITH reference to your docket No. 33, dated 23rd January, I am desired to request that you will pay the diet allowance granted to Rám Singh and his Subhas confined in the Allahabad Fort on receipt of the bills which the Magistrate of Allahabad should be instructed to send you.

No. 48 C., dated 30th January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I AM to request you to forward the proceedings of the trial at Maler Kotla of the sixteen Kukas captured in Patiála territory, presided over by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, whose decision and that of the Maler Kotla officials was confirmed by yourself.

No. 49 C., dated 31st January 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

THE accompanying returns of Kukas in the several districts of the Punjab are forwarded for the information of the Inspector-General of Police.

Kukas in the Punjab, 1871-72, according to Official Returns.

Districts.		No.	Remarks.
Sirsa	...	91	All adult males.
Karnál	...	9	
Ambálah	...	339	
Ludiánah	...	1338	This includes 197 women and children, and is according to Tahsíldár's enumeration, but Deputy Commissioner thinks the number under-estimated, and gives 2,000 as the probable number in the district.
Jálandhar	...	965	Including women and children.
Hoshiárpur	...	225	
Kangra	...	11	Adult males. One Atar Singh being Police Sergeant at Tíra.
Amritsar	...	797	
Siálkot	...	869	
Gujranwála	...	262	
Lahore	...	342	
Fírozpúr	...	506	
Gujranwála	...	395	
Ráwalpindi	...	130	Of whom 82 Attock, and 3 Mari.
Jhelam	...	3	Commissioner distrusts these two returns.
Gujrát	...	21	
Shahpur	...	10	Deputy Commissioner reports that some have here been transferred into the Police force.
Multán	...	2	Adult males. The Superintendent of Settlement at Montgomery is included in the number.
Montgomery	...	21	
Bannú	...	3	Ressaldár-Major Bhagat Singh and Sowar Lakka Singh, 1st Punjab Cavalry, and Sepoy Sher Singh, 2nd Sikh Infantry.
Pesháwar	...	46	All adult males.
Simla	...	10	Ditto.

Telegram, dated 4th February 1872.

From—Home Secretary,
From—Calcutta.

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—Camp in Ambálah.

Your telegram dated 29th January and letter dated 26th. Fresh papers do not alter the opinion stated in paragraph 2 of my letter of 24th January, and Government of India requests Lieutenant-Governor to act in accordance with paragraph 3 of same letter.

No. 48, dated Ambálah, the 1st February 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., c. b., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

With reference to your letter No. 37 C., dated 26th January, I have now the honor to forward the evidence called for by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, regarding the plans of the Kukas, and their proposed method of accomplishing those plans.

2. The evidence consists of —

I. Statements made by Rám Singh and by his followers to British Officers.

II. Statements made by Kukas in Native States, and reported through the Vakíls.

III. Statements of Lambardárs and Chaukidar at Bhaini.

IV. Statements of witnesses to Kukas collecting around Kotla, &c.

V. Police Officers' and other official reports and statements.

I have added notes of my own on the whole evidence thus collected, and may here give a brief summary.

3. For some time past, the more ambitious of the Kuka sect, have busied themselves in planning and compassing the murder of butchers, so as to put a stop to cow-killing, this action being in direct defiance of the British Government.

See Appendix No. I. Also Sessions cases in Amritsar and Raikot murders.

XXXVIII. XI. XXXII. XIV. — Prophecies of the overthrow of the English, and the restoration of the Khálsa rule, have been circulated amongst the Kukas, and there was a general rumour that this year, 1872, was to witness some

XII. XIII. XXXIX. — great display of the Kuka Guru's power. Kukas sold their land, and got rid of their property, so as to be free to take part in the coming strife, which

II. to X. Also XIV. & XV. — was expected to take place in (Cheyt) April, but was precipitated by the action of certain Subhas who, on the plea of taking vengeance for the death of Gyani Singh, hanged at Ludiánah for complicity in the butcher murders, formed the plan of sending a body of 100 men to seize the capital of the Maler Kotla Estate, where arms and horses would be found and distributed to the rest who should join. After this an attack was to be made on Nábha, Jind, and Patiála; the

II. b. III. b. — railroad between Ludiánah and Ambálah was to be broken up. They then expected to be joined by Kuka insurgents from all sides.

In prosecution of this design, a party of Kukas proceeded from Rám Singh's village, and an attack was made by them on Kotla.

Kukas were seen advancing in that direction, expecting to find their brethren in possession. They disappeared on hearing of the action taken by the local authorities. Lakka Singh, Subha and chief agent of Rám Singh, was present at the consultation held at Bhaini, and promised to follow, and set out to beat up recruits. Guru Rám Singh made no report of the intentions of his followers till interrogated by the Police Officer, and then only pleaded inability to restrain their acts.

XVIII to XXXI. XXXIX.

XXXIV.

Note on the Evidence regarding plans of Kuka Sect.

Rám Singh's statement, Appendix No. I.

We have the statement of Rám Singh, given before me on the 18th January last, that for some time past the Kukas had been asking leave to kill the butchers, but, as he says, he forbade them. This shows that there was a design on their part to put a stop to cow-killing. Now it is well known that under the British rule cow-killing is allowed, and it would be one of the first acts of a Sikh Government which got the upper-hand of our Government, to put an end to this practice. When the Delhi massacres were first reported in 1857, the Sikhs in Rupar at once wished to pronounce the British authority at an end, and proclaimed in the bázárs that cow-killing was forbidden. The chief Sikh concerned in that business was at once hanged. The very fact, then, of the Kukas desiring to put a stop to this practice must have been known to one and all of them, as being a symptom of a desire to take active measures for introducing the Sikh rule.

Rám Singh in his statement acknowledges that there was a talk about the Amritsar murders before they were actually committed. After they were committed, he was asked to allow the Raikot murders. He says he forbade them. But, assuming this to be true, it was imperatively incumbent on him at once to report to the authorities all that he knew, so as to prevent further bloodshed. His excuse that, having expressed his prohibition, he thought he had done enough, will not avail, for he had adopted this course in the matter of the Amritsar murders, and yet they had been committed. There is, then, in my mind, no doubt but that Rám Singh knew perfectly well of the intentions of his followers to put a stop to cow-killing, and he must have known that such action was a defiance of the British Government.

It is important to read carefully the memo. drawn up by Mr. J. W. Macnabb, dated 4th November 1871. He specially alludes to the prophecies regarding the re-establishment of the Sikh rule. I would also call attention to the statement made by Ganga Parshád, formerly Extra Assistant Commissioner.

Appendix No. V.

Evidence is required of an organised plan of a rising.

For this we have the information given by Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, from time to time. This may, in some instances, have been given in the form of written reports to the Inspector-General, but to me they were given verbally, and have already been referred to by me.

The reports furnished by the Patiála Vakíl, of 23 Kukas in Sakraudi selling their lands, and throwing away their property, expressing their intention of joining the Guru.

Statement of Patiála Vakil, No. XIII. Appendix II.

Deputy Commissioner's letter dated 19th January 1872.

The Jínd Vakíl gives the statement of one man, Dewá Singh, who was observed to sell his land, and throw away his property, who on being interrogated said that he was to join his Guru, and in Cheyt (next April) there was to be a disturbance.

Petition of Jínd Vakíl, and statement of Dewá Singh, Appendix No. II.

Other instances of men leaving their village to join their Guru, selling their lands, are mentioned by Patiála Vakíl, and by Mr. Cowan.

XXXIX.

The evidence of the lambardárs and others in Bhaini shows that no disguise was made in the assemblies of the Kukas as to the real ambitious schemes of their sect.

Evidence of lambardárs of Bhaini; Colonel Baillie's report, para. 10.

There is an important passage in Gyani Singh's statement when on his trial for the Raikot murders. He said, "The *mastánas* among the Kukas all believe that they are soon to rule over the country." He then adds—"Bishan Singh, Subha, is making converts in Cábul, Narain Singh in Gwalior, Káhn Singh in Benares, Nahang Singh and Saheb Singh are told off for Nipál. Híma Singh is Subha in Kashmír. There are numbers of Kukas in the Native armies. There are thousands in the English army. Jowáhir Singh, Subha, has given orders that the number of Kukas in the army is not to be made known. Letters and messages frequently come to Rám Singh from the rulers of Nipál and Jammu."

Gyani Singh's statement.

That there was some idea of a rising in Cheyt is clear. But apparently matters were precipitated, and from the following evidence we learn that a plan was formed at Bhaini, during the Maghi fair, 11th, 12th, and 13th January, for a party of *mastánas* to at once avenge Gyani Singh's death by murdering the butchers at Maler Kotla, and seizing arms there. Now, for what purpose would arms be wanted? For midnight murders they had sufficiently deadly weapons in the well-sharpened steel axes and gandásas carried by them.

The attack on Kotla was not the ulterior object. It was confessedly only the first step so as to supply them with horses. It is scarcely necessary to ask what the intentions of men are who make murderous assaults on a place for the purpose of obtaining arms. Those arms when obtained must be intended for some more serious undertaking.

It is clearly shown that the attack on Maloudh was quite unpremeditated, and was a sudden thought merely to get arms.

The following is a summary of evidence on this point:—

Bhagwán Singh says:—"I went to Bhaini 5 days before 'Maghi'. . . The Kukas who were seated near me talked of going to loot Kotla. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, of Sakraudi (Patiála), were among them. There were

Bhagwán Singh's statement.

about 50 or 60 men who planned to attack Kotla. I do not know who originated the idea, but I heard every one saying that they would get horses and arms at Kotla. ......I knew that we were going to Kotla to seize arms and horses. I do not know what it was intended to do *after* we got the horses and arms. ......I heard at the well where we were all collected at Bhaini, that Lakka Singh had promised to come."

NOTE.—Horses are not required for the prevention of cow-killing.—T. D. F.

A further statement of Bhagwán Singh is to the effect that the rails between Ludiánah and Ambálah were to be pulled up, &c.

Gyan Singh's statement.

Gyan Singh says,—I went to Bhaini on the 11th. About 10 or 12 Kukas worked themselves into a frenzy. A number joined them till there was about 100. They were shouting out that they would have revenge for Gyani who was hanged. They asked me to come to Kotla with them, that they would there get arms and horses. They said they would first loot Kotla, then Sangrúr, then Nábha, then Patiála. Lakka Singh and Harnám Singh, Subhas, came and sat down with the *mastánas*. I heard Híra Singh say to them that they were going to take revenge for Gyani Singh's death, and would first go to Kotla for horses and arms. The Subha said "we will follow you—go on to Kotla". He further states that "Lehna addressed them at Bhaini, saying that he had been at Nábha, Patiála and Dehli; that all the English army was at Dehli, that the Máháraja was there, and that the country was *sust*. Now was the time to rise."

Thaman Singh's statement.

Thaman Singh says,—"I joined Gyan Singh and about 100 Kukas. They said they were going to Kotla to get horses and arms. I did not know for what purpose they wanted arms and horses. My uncle Gyan Singh did not tell me.

Mehr Singh's statement.

Mehr Singh says,—"Lehna Singh told us we should be joined by all true Sikhs when we had arms in our possession. He said he would tell us his plans in full after he had taken Kotla."

Albel Singh's statement.

Albel Singh (executed) said,—"Híra Singh told us to come with him to Maloudh, and he would give us arms to kill the slayers of cattle."

Bhagat Singh's statement.

Bhagat Singh (executed) said,—"I went to Bhaini to the Maghi melá. I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there. These two preached against cow-killing, and said they were going to Kotla to kill the killers of kine. Rám Singh came and told us not to make a disturbance *there* but take our food and go."

Evidence of men flocking towards Kotla.

STATEMENT of Púran Náth, taken by Deputy Commissioner at Maloudh, on 12th January, shows that a body of men passed towards Kotla after the attack had been made there, and declared their intention of 'dying where God should order.'

Further evidence to a similar effect is given by 12 other witnesses amongst whom particular attention may be drawn to Wazír Singh.

There can be no doubt, from the mass of evidence now collected, that there was at Bhaini an openly-expressed determination to make a hostile demonstration, which was to be commenced by Lehna Singh and Híra Singh and their party, and which Lakka Singh not only approved but agreed to join, as deposed to by Bhagwán Singh, Gyán Singh, Sukhu, Ganda Singh, and reported by Colonel Baillie. I beg attention to Mr. Cowan's letter dated 31st January (No. XXXIX.).

Further corroborative evidence could easily be obtained doubtless, if necessary, but the quantity now submitted will probably be sufficient to show the real character of the outbreak, which received its check at Kotla.

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APPENDIX I.

I.—Statement of Ram Singh, made before T. D. Forsyth, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division, at Ludiánah, on the 18th January 1872.

The facts are that Kukas used to ask me for the murder of butchers. I always forbade them. A little more than a month before the murder case at Amritsar, Jhanda Singh, Mehr Singh, Utam Singh, and two others, whose names I now forget, asked me in the matter. I forbade them—they agreed. When the murder at Raikot took place, Dal Singh told Mangal Singh, Dewán Singh, and two others, whose names I do not recollect, to commit the murder at Raikot; they replied that they would do so if I, Rám Singh, permitted them; they five then came to me and said what Dal Singh (*alias* Dallu) told them. I then forbade them and made them to swear not to do it; they all then gave up their intentions, but subsequently Dal Singh, &c., committed the Raikot murder. I cannot say whether Dal Singh induced other bad persons to join him, or he was joined by others in the act, but he participated in the crime. I did not report the fact to Government, as I was ignorant of the law. I did not mention this to Commissioner when he sent for me at Raikot. I do not remember what I then said. I omitted to mention the above at that time because the culprits pleaded guilty; there was nothing wanting to prove the murder committed.

Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakraudi, ilaká Patiála, or Nábha, and Nand Singh, of Hadyaya told me they were going to show their colors (*rang záhir karenge*); I forbade them, but they became unmanageable, and would not mind me. I then at once* told the thanadár of Sanewál that these Kukas intended to commit some outrage, and would not listen to me, the fact must be reported to Government. I then sent Lakka Singh, who lives with me, to Ludiánah with instructions that, if the matter was not reported to Government by the thanadár, he should do so. When I saw Híra Singh, &c., in a state beyond my control, they were only 10 or 12 persons without any arms. Although two or three among them had táknás, with which they cut stems of trees, to clean their teeth with, (dátan), they did not tell me what they were going to do and where, they simply said *rang kholna*; when I refused to take any part with them, they grew angry with me, and said since I did not join them, when they returned, they would pour oil on to my head and cause it to be burnt. Nand Singh got upon the roof of the house, and with a loud voice said to my family that the hairs of all would be burnt.

* No; not till he was expressly interrogated by the Deputy Inspector.
(Sd.) T. D. F.

Rang kholna.—This means to throw off all disguise.
(Sd.) T. D. F.

II.—Examination of Bhagwan Singh, son of Ram Singh, Kuka, of Nagal, Patiála, accused No. 1.

16th January 1872.—I went to Bhainí 5 days before "Maghi." I went alone from my village. I did not join any gang. The Kukas who were seated near me, talked of going to loot Kotla. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, of Sakraudi, were among them. There were about 50 or 60

men who planned to attack Kotla. I don't know who first originated the idea, but I heard every one saying that they would get horses and arms at Kotla. There was no mention of Maloudh at Bhaini. No one asked me to join them; it was my fate to join them.

I did not see any Subhas among the party. This gang were not *mastánas*. This party were separate from all the others, at a well of Rám Singh's about 300 paces from the village. They belonged to different villages. On the 13th, after eating food at noon, we all left Bhaini. There were about 50 or 60 in all. There were no swords with us. There were a few small "gandásas." I did not hear any one say that they would be revenged for Gyani's death. I knew that we were going to Kotla to seize horses and arms. I did not know what it was intended to do after we got the horses and arms.

We all went together from Bhaini, and going by Pael, in the Patiála State, reached *Rabbu* on the Patiála border, 2½ coss from Maloudh, when a watch of the night had gone (probably 10 P. M., 13th January). We did not stop at any village on the road to Rabbu. I don't know if any others joined in, or supplied arms, on the road or not. I had only a stick in my hand. I was mounted on my mare (worth Rs. 2-8-0). We rested that night and next day in Rabbu, at a well outside. Village people from the village brought bread to us. I do not know their names. We all left when two gharis of the day remained. There was no Subha with us. I did not see any one with "talwárs"; a few had axes and the rest sticks. I did not know we were coming to Maloudh till we reached the village. Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were our leaders. There were the same number when we reached Maloudh as when we left Bhaini. I arrived at Maloudh and came into the village with the others on horseback. I am lame. I came only as far as the oilman's shop where oil was taken from. I did not join in the attack. I sat on my mare in the bázár whilst the others attacked the house or kacheri; a little while after the Kukas began to run away and bricks were thrown from the roofs of the houses. I was struck in several places and fell off my mare. I was also struck by a "*láthi*" and seized. I only know the names of Híra Singh and Lehna Singh of the dacoits.

I make this confession voluntarily.

I don't know the names of the two Kukas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole of statement of accused, and to the best of my belief, no influence, &c., was used to make the confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

IIa.—The CROWN *versus* BHAGWAN SINGH. Charge,—Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

No. I,
Bhagwán Singh son of Rám Singh; caste, Kuka; residence, Nagal, Ilaka Patiála.

HAVING pleaded guilty, says the statement he made before the Magistrate is quite correct, it is read over to him, and then adds—

I am not an enemy of the Government. I came with the party to see what was going on, not to plunder. I am lame, and does it look as if I was fit to commit a dacoity? I rode on horseback. I wasn't present when the conversation took place between Lakka Singh and Híra Singh; but I heard at the well when we were all collected at Bhaini, that he had promised to join us.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge.*

IIb.—Statement of BHAGWAN SINGH, Kuka, prisoner in Ludiánah Jail, under sentence of death, made before me this 24th January 1872.

I WAS wounded and captured in the attack on Maloudh. The other men of the Kuka party and I used to talk of what we would do when we got arms and horses. They said that a great many more Kukas would join us, and that we would then plunder Nábha of arms, and pull up the rails on this side of Ambálah to prevent troops coming from Dehli. We thought that the whole of the Sirkar's fouj was at Dehli. It was also said that when the rails were cut we were to send parties to Fírozpúr and Lahore to tell our brethren in those parts to rise.

I do not know what it was proposed to do after we took Nábha. I cannot name any one in particular who told me what the plans of the leaders were. We all talked about it, and every one said we were to attack Nábha after Kotla.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

III.—Examination of GYAN SINGH, son of DALLA SINGH, Kuka, of Pholeri, Patiála, accused No. 2.

16th January 1872.—I went to Bhaini on the 11th; stayed there two nights. Thaman Singh, my nephew, went with me. About 10 or 12 Kukas worked themselves into a frenzy (*mastánas*); a number joined them till there was about 100. They were shouting out that they would have an exchange for Gyani (who was hanged). Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were the leaders. I don't know the names of any others. On the second day this party left the village. I followed them with Thaman Singh and joined them at Pael. They asked me to come to Kotla with them, that they would there get arms and horses. They said they would first "loot" Kotla, then Sangrúr, then Nábha, then Patiála. I joined them and came on to Rabbu. At Bhaini Lakka Singh and Harnám Singh, Subhas, came and sat down with the *mastánas*. I heard Híra Singh say to them, that they were going to take revenge for Gyani's death, and would first go to Kotla for horses and arms. The Subhas said "we will follow you, go on to Kotla."

I came from Pael to Rabbu with the gang. Remained a night and day in Rabbu. Híra Singh bought food in the village out of his own pocket and gave to us. We remained at a well about 500 paces from village. The people of Rabbu did not know for what purpose we were there. We all left Rabbu in the evening. There was only one "talwár" with Lehna Singh; some had "gandásas," and some axes and sticks. I had a stick only. At Rabbu I and Thaman Singh were going to our homes. Híra Singh asked us to come with him as far as Kotla. We were not told we were to "loot" Maloudh. We arrived at the gate of Maloudh at dark. On the road I heard it counselled to come to Maloudh as there were 40 horses and arms to be had here. I came inside with the others. It was arranged that all those with sticks were to go and guard the small gate. I went there with Thaman Singh, Attar Singh, and another, whose name I don't know. A little after, 10 or 12 men attacked us with sticks and bricks, and Attar Singh and my fourth companion were killed. I was wounded by a stick in my right arm, and Thaman Singh was wounded. I fell and was taken there. I don't know the names of any of the others of the gang. I make this confession voluntarily. At Bhaini Rám Singh came to us and said, "Oh brothers, do not create a disturbance," and told us to go to our homes at once, as we would not obey him.

The above confession made contains accurately the whole of accused's statement, and no influence, &c., was used to make the confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate*.

III*a*.—The CROWN versus BHAGWAN SINGH and others. Charge,—Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Defence.
Gyán Singh, son of Dalla Singh; caste Kuka; age—; residence Pholeri.

HAVING pleaded guilty, the statement made by him before the Magistrate is read out and acknowledged to be correct. He adds—

"I am a friend of the Sirkar; I served in the cavalry. I have done nothing wrong. I didn't know what was going to be done. When Lakka came to talk to the *mastánas*, Híra Singh said, 'We are going to Kotla and Jínd and Nábha and Patiála to revenge ourselves for the part they took in Gyani Singh's death. If you are a poor lot (*pají*), don't come; but if not, come with us'. Lakka Singh said, 'Go, I will come afterwards'. Harnám Singh was there, but said nothing."

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence; it was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge*.

III. *b.*—Statement of GYAN SINGH, Kuka, under sentence of death, commuted to transportation for life; taken this 28th January 1872.

WAS wounded and taken at Maloudh. When Lehna Singh and others addressed us at Bhaini, Lehna Singh told us that he had been at Nábha, Patiála, and Dehli; that all the English Army was at Dehli; that the Máharája of Patiála was there, and that his country was *sust*. Now was the time to rise. He said as soon as we got arms, we would be joined by all Kukas.

A day before this my brother, Sahib Singh, and Panjáb Singh came to Bhaini and told me that Lehna Singh had been visiting Nábha.

Lakka Singh and Harnám Singh, brothers of Gyani, were present, and called out, "We will follow you."

IV.—Examination of accused THAMAN SINGH, son of ABEL Singh, Kuka, of Pholeri, accused No. 3.

16*th January* 1872.—I am Gyan Singh's (accused 2) nephew. I went after him to Bhaini, and left after him on the 13th. I joined him and about 100 Kukas in Rabbu. I joined them. They said they were going to Kotla to get horses and arms. I don't know for what purpose they wanted horses and arms. My uncle did not tell me. We left Rabbu in the evening, and arrived at this village at time of lighting lamps. I had nothing in my hand. I did not come inside the village. I went and stood outside the mori. I did not know the others were going to "loot" Maloudh. I thought they were passing through on their way to Kotla. I went alone outside. (Deponent will not explain why he separated himself from the others.) I was outside and heard voices and sounds of fighting, and a number of men ran out of the village and attacked me. (Deponent has wounds on his left arm and head.) I fell down and was arrested at once. I make this confession voluntarily. I don't know the names of the two Kukas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole of the statement made by accused, and to the best of my belief no influence, by means of any promise or otherwise, was used to make the above confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

V.—Examination of accused ALBEL SINGH, Kuka, accused No. I.

18*th January* 1872.—I went to Bhaini for the Maghi festival, 4 or 5 days ago. I met Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there. I left Bhaini with them and about 120 others. There was no talk of going to Kotla. They said they were all going to their homes. I went with them to Rabbu; remained a night there. Next day we all went to Maloudh in the evening. Híra Singh told us to come with him to Maloudh and he would give us arms to kill the slayers of cattle. I remained in the bázár when the others went into the fort. No Subha came with us. When the gang left Maloudh, I accompanied and came

to Kotla. Híra Singh said the cow butchers were there. I came into the city with the others as far as the "killa" gate. I don't know who our guide was. I followed Híra Singh. I found a sword in Kotla. I wounded a man with a sword before the treasury. I don't know who he was. I then ran away with the others and went to Rúr, where I was seized the same day by the Naib Nazim.

No Subha incited us at Bhaini to commit this outrage. Híra Singh at Bhaini and several other places had asked me to join him in killing the killers of cows. The man I wounded was killed by one of my companions. I don't know if any joined us on the road from Bhaini. Several Kukas came to us and several left us. Rám Singh told us to leave Bhaini. I don't know why. I make this confession voluntarily, &c., &c.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

VI.—Examination of BHAGAT SINGH, accused No. X.

18th January 1872.—I went to Bhaini for the Maghi mela. I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there; I joined their party; these two preached against cow-killing and said they were going to Kotla to kill the killers of kine, and invited us to accompany them. No Subha came near us. *Rám Singh came and told us not to make a disturbance there, but to take our food and go.* A great many Kukas were in a state of frenzy. I was not. I went with them to Rabbu, then to Maloudh, inside outer gate, then to Kotla, to palace-yard. I had a stick. I was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I did not get any arms. We went first to the treasury to get arms. Híra Singh said that after getting arms we would kill the killers of cows. We ran away to Rúr, where I was seized. We had many wounded with us, therefore we remained together. I did not hear that we were to go anywhere after leaving Kotla. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh were wounded in Kotla, therefore we were dispirited and gave up the game.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

VII.—Statement of MEHR SINGH, Kuka, under sentence of death, commuted to transportation for life, taken this 28th January 1872.

I WAS wounded and captured in the attack on Maloudh. I was not present at Bhaini when the attacks were planned, but at Rabbu. Lehna Singh told us we would be joined by all true Sikhs when we had arms in our possession. He said he would tell us the plans in full after we had taken Kotla.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

VIII.—Statement of SAMAND SINGH, Kuka, in Jail, in default of security, on solemn affirmation, taken this 28th January 1872.

WAS in Bhaini on the days of the fair. Heard it said by every one that Sakraudi Sardárs (Lehna Singh and Híra Singh) were to lead the Kukas to take Nábha, Jínd, and Patiála.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

IX.—Statement of HIRA SINGH, Kuka, in Jail, in default of furnishing security for good behaviour; on solemn affirmation, 28th January 1872.

WAS in Bhaini at the Maghi fair. Heard every one say that the time was come, and that Kotla, Nábha and Patiála were to be conquered, and that numbers would join as soon as arms were ready. This was in every one's mouth.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

X.—Statement of KHAZAN SINGH, Kuka, in Jail, in default of furnishing security for good behaviour; on solemn affirmation, 28th January 1872.

I WAS in Bhaini in the Maghi melá. I live there; am in Rám Singh's service. I was ill and lying on my charpoy in the tavaili when I heard Nand Singh calling out from the roof of the building that the time was come to fight for religion and that all true Sikhs would join. Heard him say Kotla would be attacked, but did not hear all he said as I was ill.

I don't know where Nand Singh is now, I heard he had been killed at Kotla.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XI.—Examination of GYANI, *alias* RATAN SINGH, Kuka, of Mandi, age 35 years.

21st September 1871.—My name was formerly Ratan Singh. I was a Jat Sikh. I was made a Kuka by Guru Rám Singh in Sambat 1920. Before I became a Kuka, I acquired the name of Gyani, (the philosopher) from my superior attainments. Five years agoin Uba,

Patiála State, one Harnám Singh imagined that he was Guru Gobind Singh and resisted the Patiála authorities. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and I was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, for not having quelled the disturbance.

I was not in the Mokatsar disturbance three years ago; when it occurred I was with the Sat Guru at Shoroli. He sent me to enquire the cause of it, but the Mahant at Mokatsar abused me, and I went away in fear and joined Rám Singh at Bhaini.

I was in the Anandpúr affray in the holi, two years ago; but was not arrested. At the Sirsa melá, last year, I took a sword off my neck and gave it to Dyál Singh to wear. The Police took the sword from Dyál Singh, not from me.

I was at the Khota melá in March last. Rám Singh was there. One Híra Singh beat his wife because she would not conform to Kuka customs. He cut off her hair and carried it, through the melá, at the end of a bamboo. Jowáhir Singh, Subha, remonstrated with Híra Singh, who beat Jowáhir Singh, and there was a row. Híra Singh had about 100 men on his side, and there were 400 on Rám Singh's side, and Híra Singh's men got beaten. Guru Rám Singh addressed us and said, "Why do you fight among yourselves and injure poor people. If you are men, why do you not fight with those who are powerful (*zoráwar*) and who will hang you if you are defeated."

He did not tell us to kill butchers. I went to Mohra 4 or 5 days before the Raikot murder. I did not summon Ratan Singh from Rangean to Mohra. I sent a man from Kudi to summon Narain Singh from Rangean to Mohra. I forget who this man was. He was not one of any own servants. *Atar Singh* is my servant. *He went with me from Kudi to Mohra.* I put up at the dharmsála at Mohra. Ratan Singh (accused) Gurdit Singh, Jowáhir Singh and others, came to pay their respects to me. I did not see Tejá Singh, of Dilwa. Guláb Singh was not there. There was no talk of killing butchers or collecting arms. *Guláb Singh* (sentenced to death at Raikot) stayed with me at *Kudi*. I remained one day at Mohra and went next day to *Jogay*. Atar Singh went with me. I sent Atar Singh away, and after remaining two days and one night at Jogay, went first to Aklia then to my home in Mandi, when I heard of the Raikot murders. Ratan Singh, (accused) did not come to me at Jogay. I did not give a camel to Ratan Singh.

There are about 10 lakhs of Kukas, men; only about one-third of the number wear the "katch" and other outward symbols of Kuka-ism; the remainder are allowed by the Guru to wear their former clothing, but are Kukas all the same. An order has gone out, since the murders, to all Kukas to deny their religion, if asked. This is the reason so many have taken off the "katch" and altered the form of their pagrís; but all are still at heart Kukas and ready to obey the Guru's orders. *I do not know* who gave the order to deny being Kukas. The *mastánas* among the Kukas all believe that they are soon to rule over the country. I do not know how many *mastánas* there are; perhaps 3 or 4 lakhs.

Bishan Singh, Subha, is making converts in Cábul, Narain Singh in Gwalior, Kahn Singh in Benares, Nahang Singh and Sahib Singh are told off for Nipál. Hém Singh is Subha in Kashmír. There are numbers of Kukas in all the native armies. There are thousands in the English army. Jowáhir Singh, Bába, has given orders that the number of Kukas in the army is not to be made known. Letters and messengers frequently come to Rám Singh from the rulers of Nipál and Jammu.

Above is read over to accused who acknowledges it to be correct.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

APPENDIX II.

XII.—Deposition of DEWA SINGH, Kuka, of Kakarpúr, ilaka Sangrúr, dated 2nd January 1872, furnished by the Rája of Jínd.

Question.—Why did you allow your karbi to be eaten up?

Answer.—Cows ate it.

Question.—Where do you purpose to go now?

Answer.—I will go to Rám Singh.

Question.—What is the cause of your allowing the fodder to be eaten up by cows, and how is it that cows destroyed it?

Answer.—The fodder was made by God (*Parmeshar*) and the cows were of God, they ate the fodder. I did not sell it, nor did any one buy it.

Question.—Will your children and wife accompany you?

Answer.—They are not prepared to go, but I will go; the elder son says he will follow me, but others are not willing, and do not intend going with me.

Question.—You are the disciple of Rám Singh, who is your Guru; you are hereby sworn at his feet to speak the truth as to what is to come to pass and how? (*Bhána kaisa bartega.*)

Answer.—I have heard that there will be disturbances in "Cheyt." I have heard nothing more. The words of "Granth Sahib" shall be fulfilled.

XIII.—Statement of AHMAD HASAN, Vakíl of the Patiála State, on solemn affirmation, dated 28th January 1872.

I ACCOMPANIED the Patiála troops to Kotla, and was there on the 17th and 18th instant. On the 18th a sowar reported to me that a large body of Kukas were in the jungle, between Kotla and Maloudh. I sent out, after reporting to you, Wali Muhammad, Rassaldár, with 25 sowars, and kept the Patiála troops on the alert.

The Rassaldár came back and reported that he had not found them; but that the villagers had told him that a number of men wearing blankets over their heads had gone from the direction of Kotla.

Alla-ud-dín is sent for, Sd. L. Cowan.

The same day I received a letter from Alla-ud-dín, Patiála thánadár of Bhowánigarh, reporting that, within a month before the fair at Bhaini, 23 Kukas of Díalgarh and Sakraudi had sold all their property and gone to Bhaini, and that on the evening of the day Kotla was attacked 6 of their men had returned to their homes. They could easily go from Kotla to their homes, between morning and evening.

The 6 men were arrested, and the names of all taken down. Some of the remainder have since been arrested by Patiála officials.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

APPENDIX III.

XIV.—Statement of Sukhu, Lambardár of Bhaini, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

Was in Bhaini at the Maghi fair. On the third day about 2 P. M. I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, with about 100 or 150 Kukas, at a well adjoining the village. There were some hundreds of other Kukas near them. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh were addressing the crowd; they called on them to fight for their religion, and that all who were not afraid of their lives were to come with them. They said, "We will first go to Kotla, where we will get horses and arms, and be joined by every Kuka in the country; we will then take Nábha, Jínd, and Patiála, and found a 'Ráj,' as is written in our Book of Prophecy (Poti)." I saw *Lakka Singh*, accompanied by Harnám Singh, a brother of Gyani who was hanged, go up to the crowd and shout to them, "Go on to Kotla, I will follow, for I have to avenge the death of Gyani."

Before this, about noon, I saw Rám Singh go to Híra Singh and tell him to go *elsewhere* and not to make a disturbance at Bhaini.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XV.—Statement of Daulat Ram, Lambardár of Bhaini, this 28th January 1872.

On the second day of the melá a crowd of Kukas collected round Híra Singh and Lehna Singh. They were *mastánas* and were dancing about and shouting "Akál," "Akál."

On the third day, I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh addressing about 150 people at the well; as I went near, Híra Singh called out "Who are you?" I answered, "I am a Sirkári ádmi." Híra Singh

jeered at me and threatened me, saying "there is but one Sirkár. Rám Singh is the Sirkár." Híra Singh then went on speaking to the crowd. He said,—we are going to Kotla, where we will get arms, and then we will be joined by all Kukas and conquer Nábha and Patiála, and then go to Fírozpúr where there are our brethren and a great store of arms.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XVI.—**Statement of GHAMANDA SINGH, Lambardár of Bhaini, taken on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.**

ON the third day of the Maghí melá at Bhaini I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh addressing about 150 men at the well near the village. He said, "Whoever will fight for his religion, will come with us. We will get arms and horses and tattoos at Kotla, and every man who is a Sikh will join us. We will then conquer Nábha, Jínd, and Patiála, and found a Ráj. I saw *Lakka Singh*, Subha, there, with Harnám Dás, Gyani's brother. Lakka Singh called out, "Go on, I'll follow you, and avenge the death of Gyani." Pahára Singh was there too, and I heard him call out, "I too will follow you." I did not see any other Subhas there. There were about 300 Kukas there in addition to the 150 men who were with Híra Singh. In the third watch of the day the gang left Bhaini.

About noon of the same day I saw Rám Singh go up to them and tell them not to make a disturbance.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XVII.—**Statement of BHAGWANA, Chaukidár of Bhaini, taken this 28th January 1872.**

I AM chaukidár of Bhaini. On the third day of the melá I saw 150 or 200 men assembled around Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, and a great many others looking on.

The Sardárs addressed the crowd saying, "Whoever is not afraid of his life and will fight for his religion, will join us. We will find arms and horses in Kotla, and then all Sikhs will join us. We will take Nábha, Jínd and Patiála, and then we will go to Fírozpúr."

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

APPENDIX IV.

XVIII.—Statement of PURAN NATH, taken at Maloudh, this 19th January 1872.

I AM a jogi, and live at a well about 500 paces from the village of Báharpur, near Ber, 2 coss from Maloudh. Yesterday about 11 A. M. I was smoking a huka at my well; a body of 30 or 35 Kukas came past, going in the direction of Maler Kotla. One of the men in front carried a "*dhol*," but did not beat it. Two of the party came to my well to drink. I asked them where they were going. They replied, "We are going to die where God may order." I said, "Why should you die?" They said, "It is the will of God."

They noticed that I was smoking, and said to me, "You are a *Gaddi chung*" (Sucker of a donkey). [*Note.*—In Kuka slang, a huka is called a donkey.] They then went away. They did not say they were going to Kotla, but they went in that direction.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

XIX.—Statement of SARFRAZ KHAN, Kotla sepoy, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

ON the day of the row (attack on Kotla) I was on duty at the Nawáb's garden house. After noon I went to my house at Rehmatgarh, 1 coss distant, for food. On the road I met 6 or 7 Kukas coming towards Kotla. I told them there were no Kukas in Kotla, that the Kukas who came there had gone to Rúr. One of them said, "We too are going to Kotla." They did not go on, but remained where they were, and I went on to Rehmatgarh.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XX.—Statement of ALLU KHAN, Kotla sowár, taken on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

ON the day of the attack on Kotla, I was left on duty to patrol round the town whilst the others went in pursuit of the "mufsids." About 1 P. M. I was in the fields about ½ a coss from the town. I saw 9 or 10 Kukas going towards Kotla. Some had gandásas and a few had axes in their hands; the others had sticks. One of them said to me, "Have the Kukas who came to Kotla gone away yet?" I said they had run away as far as Rúr. I said, "Where are you going to?" The man said he was going to Kotla. I then went on my way, and saw that these

men did not go on the road they were on before, but turned back. I went into the town and told what I had seen to many people. The party which went in pursuit returned to Kotla about 3 P. M. the same day.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXI.—Statement of MUHAMMAD BAKSH, Kotla sepoy, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

ON day of the attack I was on duty at the Náwab's "haveli." In the afternoon I went outside the town for a necessary purpose in the direction of Jamálpúr. There are no roads on this side, only pathways. I saw several men in Kuka dress going towards Kotla; some had axes and gandásas. I was passing without speaking, when they stopped and asked me what had happened. I said the "Chors" had been driven away to Rúr. I saw them turn off and go another way. I went back and reported to the officer of my guard.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXII.—Statement of JIWA, Kotla sepoy, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

ABOUT ten days before the attack I was sent to Buddarwalla to collect a balance of revenue due. I was returning to Kotla on the morning of the attack. About 9 P. M. I was at Hatna, a village 1½ coss from Kotla. I was told that 20 or 25 Kukas were sitting near the village. I did not see them. As I approached the town of Kotla, I saw several Kukas walking fast from it in the direction of Rúr.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXIII.—Statement of SANDU, Kotla sepoy, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

ON the day of the attack I was on duty at the gate of the "kila." I was relieved in the afternoon, and went to my field in Mamdavi, about a mile from Kotla. When in my field, I saw five Kukas going towards Kotla. One had a gandása and two carried sticks. A little while afterwards I saw the same men going back again.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXIV.—Statement of GAINDE KHAN, Kotla sowár, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

WAS on duty in the lines on day of attack at Kotla. About noon the Tahsíldár sent for me and ordered me to go to Hatna and see if it was true that Kukas had assembled there. About 1 P. M. I went to Hatna. Was told by the people that a number of Kukas were outside the village. I went out and saw 200 or 300 Kukas, some sitting, some standing in a field. I called some of the Hatna people, and asked the nearest Kukas who they were. They said they were going to Kotla. I rode back and told the Tahsíldár.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXV.—Statement of BUDHU, Lambardár of Khurd, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.

MY village is 5 coss from Kotla. On the morning of the attack a chamár whom I had sent to Kotla returned about 9 A. M. and told me that the Kukas had attacked the town, that the gates were closed and fighting was going on. I at once got on my horse and rode towards Kotla. I was joined on the road by Ganda Singh, Lambardár of Utála, and we rode on together. A man coming from Kotla told us the Kukas had been driven out of the town and were being pursued in the direction of Rúr by the Nazim. Near Kotla we overtook two parties of Kukas—one of 8 or 10 men, the other of 15 or 20 men—hastening towards Kotla. I called out to them "the Kukas have been defeated and taken prisoners," and rode on. At the Maleri gate of the town, we found Sahib Ditta, Lambardár, Baliwál, and Rúru, Lambardár of Bogiwál, and a great many zamindárs collected. These two Lambardárs told us they too had seen parties of Kukas coming towards Kotla. We all went to the Tahsíldár and told him that fresh bands were coming to attack the town, and he sent a sowár to recall the Nazim and Kotla sowárs who had gone in pursuit. I went with the sowár and told the Nazim, who left the rebels close to Rúr and came back quickly.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXVI.—Statement of GANDA SINGH, Lambardár of Utala, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.

WAS in my village on morning of the attack on Kotla. When five or six gharís of the day had gone, I heard that the Kukas had attacked the town. I went out of the village and saw Budhu going towards Kotla. I joined him, and we went on together. We passed two parties

of Kukas going towards Kotla at the Maleri gate; we met Sahib Ditta and Rúru, Lambardárs, who told us they had seen parties of Kukas coming towards Kotla from the direction of their villages.

We went and told the Tahsíldár, who sent out and recalled the Nazim.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXVII.—**Statement of SAHIB DITTA, Lambardár of Baliwál, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.**

MY village is 2½ coss from Kotla. On the morning of the attack I heard of the row and was going towards Kotla. Rúru joined me at his village, which lay on my road. Saw several parties of Kukas, numbering altogether 30 or 40 men, hastening towards Kotla.

I went with others to the Tahsíldár and reported what we had seen.

Taken before me,

(Sd,) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXVIII.—**Statement of RURU, Lambardár of Bogiwál, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.**

SAYS the same as Sahib Ditta.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXIX.—**Statement of FATTEH KHAN, Kotla sowár, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.**

THE day of the attack I was on duty at the Tahsíl. Several Lambardárs came about 9 or 10 o'clock and reported to the Tahsíldár that fresh gangs of Kukas were approaching the town. Tahsíldár ordered me to go with a letter to the Nazim. I found him near Rúr with the rebels in front. He at once returned to Kotla.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXX.—Statement of WAZIR SINGH, Zemindár of Katána, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, this 30th January 1872.

ON the night when Maloudh was attacked, Bhola Singh, Kuka, lambardár of Katána, returned from the Maghi fair at Bhaini. A number of Kukas were with him. After it was dark he sent for me and for Líkal, zemindár. We went to his house, and I saw 40 or 42 Kukas there. They had altered the shape of their pagrís. Five or six carried axes, the others had thick sticks in their hands. Bhola Singh told us that he and the Kukas in his house were going to Nipál to join their brethren there. He said, "Now is the time to become a Kuka; if you become one and join us you will obtain a high office; if you remain at home, you will be turned out by the Kukas who remain here." I refused to go, and so did Líkal. Before day-light Bhola Singh and the Kukas left the village. Later in the same day we heard that Maloudh had been attacked the night before. Bhola Singh returned 11 days afterwards. I asked him where he had been. He said, "As you did not join us, why do you want to know where we have been; go to your house and ask no question." Bhola Singh has been four times punished by the Criminal Courts. I have had no quarrel with him.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner*

[NOTE.—Bhola Singh, Kuka, is a man who several times came to me during the Raikot inquiries and before them, ostensibly to volunteer information of what was going on at Bhaini; but in reality to endeavour to discover if the Kukas were suspected.]

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXXI.—Memorandam by L. COWAN, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, dated 30th January 1872.

ON the night of the 16th January, at Kotla, a sowár of the Nábha horse who had remained behind in consequence of the lameness of his horse, reported that five Kukas were concealed in a house in a village seven miles from Kotla.

I sent out some horsemen, and these five men belonging to different villages in the Patiála State were brought in to me.

They could give no satisfactory account of their presence; but, as they were not identified as being with the gang of insurgents, I thought it sufficient to make them over to the Patiála authorities.

APPENDIX V.

XXXII.—Note regarding Extra Assistant Commissioner NARAIN SINGH's statements.

THOSE which were made to me were of a verbal character. When Gyani Singh was hanged, I was at Ludiánah and in constant communication with Narain Singh, who had his spies in Rám Singh's village, and reported as follows:—

Gyani Singh sent a message just before his death to Rám Singh to make haste if he intended to release him, and a *mastána* offered to go to Ludiánah for this purpose. Rám Singh replied, "Wait a little. Wait till Cheyt." Finally, when about to be hanged, Gyani Singh sent a message to Rám Singh, saying he had one murder on his head, whereas Rám Singh had three murders on his. Immediately after this there was a rumour spread abroad that some movement would take place in Cheyt (April); and Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh reported to me that 200 Kukas were assembled at Bhaini at the new year (Maghi) fair on 11th January, for consultation. This piece of information I reported verbally to the Secretary to Government.

XXXIII.—Extract of a letter from Lieut.-Colonel BAILLIE, Offg. Deputy Inspector-General, Police, Lahore Circle, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division; dated 20th January 1872.

Para. 10. "With regard to the recent outbreak of the Kukas, I learnt that those who were most forward in bringing it about were Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh, Gopál Singh, Kánh Singh (*alias* Nihang Singh,) Budh Singh, and Lehna Singh. (I think this information doubtful with regard to Budh Singh, the brother of Rám Singh, who has not very long adopted the Kuka tenets). Lakka Singh was known to have departed for Philour with the intention of getting up a band from thence. No one doubts in the village that Rám Singh entirely approved of the expedition, and that his tardy intimation to the authorities was mere 'peshbandi,' or a ruse to save himself in the event of a reverse. The Kukas we found assembled in Bhaini were also believed to be awaiting the turn of events; but the alarm spread so fast and troops were so soon put in motion that they feared to leave. The people in the village state that no disguise was made in their assemblies of the real ambitious schemes of the Kukas; they expressed surprise that so much moderation had been shewn them for so long, and evinced the greatest pleasure in the anticipation that they had seen the last of Rám Singh and his melás at Bhaini."

XXXIV.—The CROWN *versus* 1, BHAGWAN SINGH; 2, GYANI SINGH; 3, THAMAN SINGH; 4, MEHR SINGH.

Witness No. 1 for prosecution, Sarfráz Khan, Deputy Inspector of Police, Ludiánah District, states on solemn affirmation:—

ON the 11th of this month I went to Bhaini to keep order at the fair there. The fair was over on the 12th. On the 13th in the morning I heard that a body of *mastána* Kukas had separated themselves from

the rest. The Lambardár and chaukidár told me of this, and said they were up to mischief. I then went at once to Rám Singh and said I wished to speak to him alone. He said, those people, *i. e.*, Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, residents of Sakraudi in Patiála, are head of this body and won't obey my word. I said, "Why, what is their intention ?" He gave no answer, and only said they had become *mastánas*. I asked him to give me a list of their names. He gave me a list of 13 men. I gave that list afterwards into the office. I have a copy here, and read it :—Lehna Singh, son of Mehtáb Singh ; Híra Singh, head ; Anop Singh, Udam Singh, Nand Singh of Hadáya, Jagpa Singh, Waryám Singh, Bhág Singh of Mehráj, Narain Singh of Bír ; Sobah Singh, Suján Singh, Gyán Singh, Ran Singh of Balheri. He said he knew no more. I asked how many men there were altogether. He said about 50 or 60. I then told Súba, Lambardár, Balab Rám, Lambardár, Bhagwána, chaukidar, Kalandar Khán, Sergeant, to enquire how many men there were collected in this separate body at the well close to Bhaini. They reported the number to be about 100.

After this I said to Rám Singh, you explain to them that they are to commit no disturbance, and send them away. He went, and, putting his cloth round his neck, said to them, " Go to your homes and don't make a row, or it will be worse for me." They replied, "Give us some food and we will go." He fed them and they went away, and Rám Singh reported their departure. I then sent the Sergeant and Hamír Singh to follow them and find out which way they should go. They went to Rámpúr Katáni, in the Patiála territory. When they reached the Patiála territory the Sergeant and others returned and reported the fact. I at once wrote information to the Thánadár of Doraba. I then came to Ludiánah by the evening train, and at 10 P. M. informed the District Superintendent first and then the Deputy Commissioner. I was then ordered to go to the different Vakíls and inform them.

There were about 1,000 Kukas at the fair. They were occupied in reading and reciting passages, but no one said anything.

The *mastánas* gang frequently expressed their intention of going to Kotla.

CERTIFIED that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge.*

XXXV.—Copy of a letter to address of L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner Ludiánah, from Lehna Singh, Naib Tahsíldár of Ludiánah, dated 15th January 1872. Received by Deputy Commissioner at Kotla on the 16th idem.

I WENT to Bhaini this morning in order to inform Rám Singh of your Persian order. [*Note.*—This was the order summoning Rám Singh to meet me at Maloudh.] There I learned from Sukha and

Ghamanda, Lambardárs of the village, that day before yesterday Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, Kukas, got permission from Rám Singh not to make any assault at Bhaini and Ludiánah, but somewhere abroad. So Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were speaking openly that they will first go to Kotla, then to Sangrúr or Jínd, and afterwards to Dehli. Rám Singh told me that he reported to the Deputy Inspector of Police that the men above mentioned have bad designs, but they may not make any assault, but this is his excuse. I have written you these few lines in the form of report and also a separate report of the Persian order. The Kukas that have gone out with this bad design are about three hundred men.

XXXV. *a*.—Statement of Lehna Singh, Offg. Tahsíldár of Ludiánah, on solemn affirmation, this 28th January 1872.

I went to Bhaini on the 15th instant by your order, to inform Rám Singh that he was to join you at Maloudh the next day. Rám Singh told me that the gang of Kukas, headed by Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, had gone to attack some place, and that he had reported their departure to the Police. He said they would be joined by many others, and that he feared there would be a great disturbance (*fasád*). Rám Singh also told me that at the last Dusserah festival at Bhaini it was plotted by a number of Kukas, among whom were Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, to have a rising for their religion; and that he had ordered them to keep the peace and had driven several of them out of the village. When I pressed him for further information he said that the gang did not tell him, but that they told Lakka Singh and Sahib Singh, his Subhas, of their intention to rise for their religion.

The Lambardárs told me the gang had gone to attack Kotla, and that they would afterwards attack Jínd and destroy the Railway, but the Lambardárs were in a frightened state, and were apparently afraid to tell me all they knew.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

XXXVI.

Dated 28th January 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ludiánah.

To enable me to complete the record in the case of the late attack on Kotla by Kukas, I shall feel obliged by your furnishing me with a report on the state of feeling in the town and neighbourhood of Kotla on your arrival there; the apprehensions, if any, entertained, of a renewed attack on the town, and the grounds for such apprehensions as were brought to your notice.

Dated 28th January 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel PERKINS, District Superintendent of Police, Ludiánah,

To—The Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

IN reply to your letter of to-day's date, requesting me to furnish a report on the state of Kotla on my arrival there on the 16th instant, I have the honor to state that on reaching that place the greatest consternation and alarm prevailed amongst the officials and towns-people, which only in a measure subsided on the arrival of the contingents of the surrounding Native States, for the apprehension was general that another attack would be made by the insurgents, and the Kotla officials, with the few men at their disposal, had hurriedly relinquished following up the party of Kukas and returned to Kotla to protect the place, constant reports from the neighbouring villages being received of bands of men approaching the town.

You are aware that, to secure the safety and hasten the arrival of the apprehended gang, I, after consultation with you, went out with some horse, met the same some six miles from Kotla bringing them in in safety. A more determined set of ruffians I never saw. Several of them on their way in were excessively abusive, and declared they would submit to no Government but that of their own sect.

Up to the 18th instant, information was frequently received that small parties of Kukas from various directions were flocking towards Kotla. These gangs only dispersed on hearing of the executions.

Other and more important duties were so pressing, that there was no time to take the depositions of the informants.

XXXVII.—GANGA PARSHAD's statement made to me orally.

GANGA PARSHAD, formerly Extra Assistant Commissioner, now pensioner, who was employed in the settlement of Fírozpúr, and afterwards in Ambálah and in Hissár, and is thus acquainted with Málwa Sikhs, has been employed by me to make enquiries of Lambardárs and others in villages where Kukas live.

The result of his enquiries is thus given by him to me. The agitation commenced last year, for the slaughter of butchers was set a-going by the mere ambition of Rám Singh's Subhas, and unquestionably with the intention of restoring the Khálsa rule. The general opinion seems to be, that Rám Singh was not prepared for such a step, though, being open to flattery, and having assumed the position of spiritual Guru, he did not discountenance the idea that at some future time the Sikh ráj might be restored.

Prophecies of great events in 1872 had been freely promulgated, probably invented by some of the Subhas, but with Rám Singh's cognizance.

After the execution of Gyani Singh, Subha, for complicity in the butcher murders, the more unruly spirits among the Kukas determined to precipitate events so as to fulfil prophecy and to realize their dreams of power.

It does not appear that the plan of attacking Kotla was originated by Rám Singh, or by any conference held there before the fair on 11th January. The idea was first discussed amongst the Kukas in the Native States, Híra Singh and Lehna Singh being the leaders.

They came to Bhaini prepared to force their leader to sanction the enterprize, and to head an insurrection, and in fact there is no doubt but that these men threatened Rám Singh that they would kill him if he did not join.

This part of Ganga Parshád's statement agrees with what Rám Singh said to me at Ludiánah.
(Sd.) T. D. F.

As soon as the party of *mastánas* left Bhaini to attack Kotla, there was a general feeling that the whole sect had been committed, and all the Kukas who got information held themselves to spring forward the moment they heard of any success attending the attack of the gang. But Rám Singh personally was helpless, and was overwhelmed by the impetuosity of his followers, just as the ruler of the Punjab was destroyed by the impetuosity of his army some years ago.

The ambitious aims of the few who have caused all the disturbances during last and this year are not shared in by the whole body of Kukas, and it would be unwise and impolitic to treat all as a proscribed sect.

Kuka-ism will not be put a stop to by the measure now taken. Nor is there any reason to fear the spread of disaffection if the turbulent element in the sect be removed.

XXXVIII.—Memo. on Ram Singh and the Kukas, by J. W. Macnabb, Esq., late Officiating Commissioner, Ambálah Division, dated 4th November 1871.

The printed Central Police Office Reports of 1867 and of 1868 render it unnecessary to go over the origin of the history of that sect.

In September 1866 also there was a correspondence between your Office and General Taylor regarding the Kukas, which shows the views held by him and by the Government of the day.

A perusal of that correspondence, and a consideration of the grounds on which it was formed, confirm my own view that, whatever may have been the intentions of the leaders of the sect at the beginning, its tendency is distinctly political.

I see in the earlier papers that Rám Singh was looked upon as a successor or actual re-embodiment of Guru Nának, the Saint. He is now the representative of Guru Govind, the Warrior.

At the time of the reports mentioned none of the Sardárs, except Mangal Singh of Kishanpura, in Patiála, were connected with the movement. Now many men of position are joining the sect. For instance, the Sardárs of Kamánoh in Patiála, not far from Bhaini; also Gurdat Singh of Naiwalah, in Patiála; Sardár Bír Singh of Dialgurh; Sardár Gursarn Singh and his three nephews of Mustafabád; (this Sardár, who is deeply in debt himself, told me he was a Kuka;) Híra

Singh, Jagírdár of Sadhowra, who went as commandant with 100 men to form the Kuka Regiment in Jammu; all the other small Jagírdárs of Sadhowra; Beda Singh, cousin of the Honorary Magistrate of Sohanah, and a connection of the above Dialgarh Sardár; Jaimal Singh and Dalíp Singh of the Kalsia State.

Few of these are really big men, but they are of quite a different class to the carpenters and blacksmiths and low-caste Sikhs who first joined the movement.

Ambálah District swarms with men of good Sikh family, owning infinitesimal portions of "horsemen's shares" in jagír, who have no ostensible means of livelihood, and who, though said not to be real fighters like the Manjha Sikhs, form a population likely to favor a return of the Khálsa ráj. Amongst these people, the thing is likely to grow.

The year before last it is said that Rám Singh volunteered to raise a Kuka Regiment for the Máharája of Kashmír. At all events this was done, and some 300 men were collected in Jammu under the leadership of Híra Singh, a Jagírdár of Sadhowra ,in this district, as aforesaid. This regiment the Máharája has of late disbanded.

Last year Subhas Bír Singh and Mán Singh were sent to Nípál with a present to the heir-apparent, and brought a return present from that Prince.

In a sect which organizes itself into districts, with rulers and sub-agents in each, and sends its emissaries to Lucknow or Hyderabád, or wherever Sikhs are to be found, and arranges its tenets so that it carefully avoids anything really antagonistic to the Sikh religion, the political element cannot fail, after a while, to be the mainspring of action. Everything points to this. Rám Singh has no pretension to be the saintly fakír. He visits you attended by half a dozen horsemen; he is followed by scores of men on foot; he comes into your room surrounded by a court like a Prince. He and his people are dressed in exquisitely fine white clothes.

One of the original tenets of his sect was a stringent prohibition of adultery and fornication. Against his own character I have heard no well-founded charges in this respect, but his daughter was murdered for her incontinence, and his Subhas are much belied by common report and by the appearance of those I have seen, if they are not dissolute characters. All the evidence I have taken in these trials points incidentally to a very loose kind of life among the Kuka women.

Again, when Subha Gyani Singh wishes to account for his presence at this village or that, he says he has gone to one to settle a dispute between some Kukas; in another, to look after the interests of some Kukas who were before the Patiála Police authorities. In fact he is a Magistrate and a leader,—not a spiritual guide.

The Subhas I have seen are young, daring-looking men. The Kukas I have seen are, with a few exceptions, as observed, I think, by Mr. C. P. Elliott, remarkable for their powerful frames.

I think the natural deduction from the above is that the movement has become (whatever it was in its beginning) a political, and not a purely religious movement.

It has next to be shown that Rám Singh is not a mere puppet in the hands of designing men. I have shown the state he keeps. No one who has seen and talked with Rám Singh will have failed to observe an intelligence, firmness, and decision of character, which, coupled also with great self-restraint, do not belong to a *mere* religious enthusiast, still less to a puppet.

The whole of the evidence taken in the various murder trials prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the men who wished orders as to the murders all went direct to Rám Singh to receive their commands. Even the men who say he told them to have nothing to do with them, still say they looked to him for orders. There is no mention anywhere of Subhas being consulted at Bhaini. They had direct access to him without any difficulty. He was most careful about only speaking to one at a time, but he was the mainspring of action, the people evidently trusting not his Subhas but him.

Lastly, every Kuka who can read, has a book printed by Diwán Búta Singh of Lahore, a well-known seditious character. This book contains all the parts of the Granth inciting to war, *i. e.*, the "Gurdanti" and "Chandi Path" from Guru *Govind Singh's* Granth. There are also three other books, the "Sou Saki," or "Hundred Sayings," which is given out as an old book, but contains Rám Singh and his father's names, and is really new; a second is "Baba Gíta Ra Goshat," or Baba Gíta's Prophecies. This is similar to the first. The third, "Karni Namah;" this also is a prophecy telling how the Khálsa would turn out the English and take Dehli. These three books are not so generally kept by Kukas, but none will deny that they are of the Kuka sect, and approved by Rám Singh. Inspector Imdád Ali says he gave copies of these books seized in Bela Singh's (Amritsar murderer) house to Mr. Turton Smith, who has translated them. These books in their hands are clearly seditious. These three last are *not* printed.

The political case against Rám Singh stands thus:—

He is the actual as well as nominal leader of a sect which in its nature, as a revival of the Khálsa, is antagonistic to the British power. He is the sole ruler of this sect, which, being generally turbulent, has organized a plan for the murder of all the butchers in this part of the Punjab. It is admitted by his Subha, Gyani Singh, that he, Rám Singh, knew of the Amritsar murders immediately after their execution. Setting aside the direct evidence to the fact, it is absurd to suppose that he did not know they were committed by Kukas. He must have known that the example of Amritsar would be sure to be followed elsewhere, and yet he did not speak the word which would undoubtedly have prevented further bloodshed. In my presence, in open court, he refused to express the least reprobation of the slaughter of the innocent women and infants at Raikot.

I consider that the slaughter by strangers of butchers carrying on their trade in places expressly sanctioned by the British Government, was a direct defiance of our authority, and I submit that any failing in carrying out to its uttermost the punishment of such defiance is dangerous to our power.

In view, then, of what I believe to be the universal opinion that these acts of defiance have the express approval of the head of the sect that committed them, it seems necessary, for the internal safety and tranquillity of the country, that Rám Singh be deported to some place where he cannot be visited by his worshippers, and his Subhas confined to their homes and forbidden to hold melás.

If this be not done, our want of action will be put down to fear, and Rám Singh will be a greater man than ever; and that the increase of his power and of the numbers of his followers cannot be unattended with great risk of serious disturbance, will not, I think, be questioned.

I will now detail the evidence which will be available for a criminal prosecution of Rám Singh for abetment of the Amritsar and Raikot murders.

In March last, at the Kotha Melá in Patiála, where many hundreds of Kukas were assembled, there was a fight between two parties about a woman, and Rám Singh rebuked them for fighting among themselves.

Dal Singh, Queen's evidence, Raikot murder.

Dal Singh states the Guru said—"If you are Bahádurs, kill the cow-killers." This he deposed before the Guru in Court.

Gyani Singh Subha's defence before Magistrate.

Gyani Singh in his defence admits that the Guru made the remark, but gives his words as, "If you are men, why do you not fight with those who are powerful, and who will hang you if you are defeated."

About the 15th May, Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh joined the Guru's camp at Parhai, and stated that there was ill-feeling about cow-killing at Amritsar.

Kanh Singh's statement taken finally by me.

Asked the Guru's wishes about killing butchers, and left a day or two afterwards, saying that they had orders and committed the murders; and a day or two after, Guláb Singh (Queen's evidence) went with the Guru's leave to join in the murders.

Lehna Singh, son of Dal Singh.

On the return of Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh and of Guláb Singh to Amritsar, they stated they had the Guru's orders for the murders.

Basáwa Singh, also Kanh Singh depose to fact of Pahara Singh having been at Bhaini at that time.

After this Pahara Singh and Basáwa Singh came to enquire if the Guru wished the murders to be done. Basáwa Singh states that, being told that Mehr Singh and Jhanda Singh meant to kill the butchers, Rám Singh said "if they could do it, they would do it, (*maren tukkeran.*)"

After this Subha Rája Singh went with one Chanda Singh and asked the Guru if he wished the butchers murdered. The Guru said, "Don't you have anything to do with it. Whatever God may do is right." This man's evidence is worth reading.

Raja Singh.

After this Ganda Singh and Lehna Singh were sent to Bhaini by the Amritsar conspirators to ask the Guru for orders. These men gave their message at Rurka, asking if it was true that the Guru had told Guláb Singh to order the murders. He said he would give an order next day. The next day or the one following Rám Singh told Ganda Singh that "he had given orders; why was there delay?"

See Ganda Singh and Lehna Singh's evidence before Judge of Amritsar.

The above is the evidence showing Rám Singh's complicity in the Amritsar murders.

Shortly after the news of this murder reaching Bhaini, Gyani Singh left Bhaini and went to Bhowanki and Raesur, and the next day Jagat Singh and Utam Singh of those places proposed the Raikot murder to Dal Singh (Queen's evidence).

See his defence before me.

Not being satisfied, Dal Singh, with Mangal Singh, Jaba Singh, Dewá Singh, and Guláb Singh, all of Gylani, went off to Bhaini to consult Rám Singh. I have talked over the matter with all these men, also Dharm Singh, Lambardár of Gylani, and they all admit that they went to consult Rám Singh about the murder, but he only spoke on the first occasion to Mangal Singh, the others keeping out of hearing distance. Mangal Singh says he forbad the deed; the others state that the message Mangal Singh brought was encouraging it. In the morning, when they were departing, on going to make their salaam, Mangal Singh says that Rám Singh said that it is a "wicked deed (*Mára Kám*), don't have anything to do with it." The others say that he said, "You are *maran* (*i.e.*, unfit,); go to your homes." This is probable, as Mangal Singh is quite lame, Jaba Singh nearly blind, Guláb Singh old, and the other two slight-built men.

Dal Singh, Queen's evidence in second trial.
Ditto.

About this time Guláb Singh (Queen's evidence) states that Bhagwán Singh said he was told by the Guru to go into the Málwa and kill butchers, in consequence of which Bhagwán Singh, Lachman Singh, and Jowáhir Singh and he, Guláb Singh, went next morning to take leave. Bhagwán Singh conversed apart with the Guru, then Rám Singh said, "Well, go into the Málwa and kill the butchers," and sent them off. When starting Bhagwán Singh got Rs. 12 from Gopál Singh for expenses, which was made over to Guláb Singh. That they had this Rs. 12 is confirmed by Dal Singh. They then started, and, after getting Gyani Singh's assistance in swords and men, committed the murder.

Dal Singh.

Kánh Singh also states that, four years previously, as he was passing with Rám Singh by Raikot, Rám Singh said, "These butchers prevent the spreading of religion. I cannot manage the whole world, but on my life I shall clear *this* country of them."

Kánh Singh Queen's evidence in Morinda case.

Guláb Singh stated that we went straight into Bhaini after the murder, and Mangal Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Mastán Singh (subsequently hanged at Raikot), stated that they had come straight from Bhaini on the day the murder was committed. This last is not, strictly speaking, legal evidence; what has gone before is the evidence of Rám Singh's complicity in the Raikot murders.

About the time the party were sent off to the Raikot murder, Atar Singh, the Sardár bearer of the Guru, said, "Let us also do the Guru's work;" and accordingly Káhn Singh, Atar Singh, another Atar Singh, Thaman Singh and Dowkal Singh went, after praying in the Darbár, to get the Guru's orders. The Guru praised Atar Singh, Thaman Singh and Kánh Singh for what they were going to do, not apparently speaking in express words of what it was, but went on to warn them not to make an attempt where there was any risk, and suggested that the butchers taking cattle up from Ambálah to Kalka when halting at the encamping-grounds would be easy victims.

See Kánh Singh's statement before me.

The party then got two kukris from the village which had sent to the Guru from Nipál, and, furnishing themselves with swords from the Kamánoh Sardárs, started off, but eventually turned back, and on their return being stopped by some chaukidars in the early morning at Morindah, they killed one of the chaukidars, and Kánh Singh and Dowkal Singh fled to Bhaini. The Guru next day told them to leave, for fear they should be traced there, and reproached them for deserting their companions.

This is as far as is yet known in the Morindah case. The two Atar Singhs and Thaman Singh are still at large.

It will be observed from the above that in neither instance did Rám Singh take the initiative in action or speech regarding the Amritsar or Raikot murders. But from a man in his position, the remarks suggestive or permissive to *Guláb Singh*, and permissive and exhortative to *Ganda Singh*, have the force of commands, and, if true, are, I think without doubt an "instigating," constituting abetment of the murders. The direct evidence of the two above men, supported by the evidence of Dal Singh, the Gyala men, and Kánh Singh, from which the Guru's approval of the contemplated murders may be distinctly inferred, and lastly, the hearsay evidence proving that people who went to ask the Guru's leave to murder, and did go and returned saying that they had his leave, and finally committed the murder, form, in my opinion, a presumption sufficiently strong when taken with the above direct evidence, to be accepted as a fact.

It is of course impossible to predict the result of confronting the witnesses, who are all Kukas, with their Gurus, also as to how far cross-examination may show them to be lying; but I am pretty

confident that, unless "got at" in the meantime, their evidence will be to the same effect as that already recorded. I have heard all the witnesses tell their story.

Supposing the evidence to stand the above tests, it would to my mind be conclusive, but I cannot predict how another mind might view it.

I am strongly of opinion that the safest thing to do with Rám Singh is to transport him to the Andamans for life.

If the judicial trial failed, the verdict could not possibly be an acquittal, but merely a record of "not proven," and under these circumstances I would still proceed under Act III. of 1818.

If Government prefer to act directly under Act III. it should be done at once, before the troops move down to Dehli.

I believe he will not think of flight, but appear on an ordinary summons.

The Police should be strengthened at Ludiánah, and some troops held in readiness at Jálandhar.

The remaining alternative is the giving Rám Singh to understand in an unmistakeable manner that he must stop his preaching, and that of his Subhas, and be responsible for the acts of his followers.

I do not think this will answer; his Subhas will not be stopped by him, and he himself, if he does not put our forbearance down to fear, as I believe he will, will only wait till a change of local officers enables him to recommence his intrigues.

But, beyond all this, I think a great crime has been committed in Rám Singh's interests, at his instigation, and with his connivance and approval, and I venture to submit that it behoves Government to see that he does not go unpunished.

As Diwán Búta Singh has great influence with the printing community at Lahore, it will doubtless be considered inexpedient to print this correspondence.

XXXIX.—Copy of demi-official letter from L. COWAN, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, to the Commissioner, Ambálah Division, dated 31st January 1872.

THERE have been several cases of sale of all their property lately by Kukas in this district. The money realized by the sale has, I am told, been either given to Rám Singh, or expended in feeding small gangs of Kukas, and the Kukas who have sold their property have *openly* declared that *their* ráj is soon to commence, and that they will be repaid a hundred-fold. If I can get reliable evidence on these points I will record and send it to you.

The men of the sect whom I occasionally meet have more 'swagger' about them now than before the outbreak, and I am inclining to the opinion that the snake has been scotched only, and not killed; though it will probably be months, and perhaps years, before we have another outbreak.

Nine Kukas had a feast at Khanna on the 29th; they were beating a drum and singing, when the Police arrived and dispersed them. A Khanna lambardár has reported that Albel Singh, a Kuka lambardár of Pael, in the Patiála State, has threatened to murder him. Notice has been given to the Pael authorities.

Lakka Singh came to Ludiánah on the *afternoon* of the 15th (Kotla was attacked on the morning of the 15th); he did not go to the Police Station or to any officer (Colonel Perkins and I were at Maloudh), but was seen walking in the bázár by Baijnáth, Inspector of Police, and on being asked what he was doing, he *then* said he had been sent by Rám Singh to report that a gang had left Bhaini to plunder.

The attacks on Maloudh and Kotla were both known in Ludiánah before Lakka Singh appeared.

He was taken to Mr. Rowe and afterwards placed under arrest.

A few days *before* the fair at Bhaini, Lakka Singh was arrested at Philour, on suspicion that he had been travelling about the Jálandhar District for some bad purpose. Major Birch wrote to me asking if I would have him, but I had no case against him, and he was released. At Philour I am told he *vehemently entreated* to be allowed to prosecute his journey to Bhaini.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Lakka Singh's visit to Ludiánah on the very day of the attack on Kotla was for the purpose of collecting followers.

MEMORANDUM by Lieut.-Colonel G. McANDREW, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambálah Circle, dated 20th November 1871.

As directed, I have carefully perused Colonel Baillie's letter of the 8th August, on the subject of the late outrages on butchers, and also regarding the influence which Rám Singh, head of the Kuka movement, has exercised over his followers to instigate them to this murderous demonstration against cow-killing. I fully agree with Colonel Baillie in the views he expresses, both as to the part taken by Rám Singh and the measures which should be adopted against him.

2. My belief, from information derived from many sources, is that the present movement against butchers commenced as follows.

3. In March last Rám Singh made a progress through the Ludiánah and Fírozpúr Districts to the Dam-Damma Temple. On his return he held a melá or gathering at the village of Khota, in the Fírozpur District, on which occasion a disturbance took place among the assembled Kukas, on a question regarding the conduct of a woman, and Rám Singh had to interfere to prevent a regular fight. After order was restored Rám Singh said to those sitting near him, " If my followers were true to their religion, instead of fighting among themselves, they would purify the land from the slaughter of cows, and make some arrangement to stop the work of butchers."

4. The above account of what took place at Khota I first learnt from a statement made on the 8th July by Harnám Singh, a Kuka arrested at Ambálah; this, it will be observed, was before the Raikot murders.

5. Harnám Singh stated that the killing of butchers had been taken in hand by the Kukas as a work of merit, and that other attacks on butchers would follow the Amritsar one. This statement of Harnám Singh as to the words of Rám Singh at Khota was afterwards corroborated by the confession made by Dal Singh, one of the Raikot murderers; and I have not the slightest doubt that the idea of putting a stop to cow-killing was first started in the minds of the Kukas by what fell from Rám Singh's mouth on that day at Khota. What took place subsequently at Amritsar is easily accounted for. The men concerned in the murders there were either present at Khota and heard all that took place, or had discussed the subject with those who had been there, and, on finding at Amritsar a strong local excitement on the subject of cow-killing and selling of beef, it at once struck them that no time or place could be more favorable to commence the butcher-killing movement. This was the explanation given me by Guláb Singh at Raikot when I asked him how Amritsar came to be selected for the first attack.

6. From the statement made to Colonel Baillie at Amritsar, there can be little doubt that, before proceeding to extremities, the band of Kukas there sent for and received the permission of Rám Singh to commence the good work.

7. In the Raikot case there are the strongest grounds to believe that Rám Singh was consulted and gave his consent before the blow was struck. There is the direct statement of Dal Singh; the fact that Guláb Singh went to Rám Singh at Bhaini, after the Amritsar murders, and only left shortly before the Raikot case; that the three men who were executed at Raikot stated that they had just come from paying their respects to Rám Singh; that Ratan Singh, the man who made all the arrangements for the Raikot murders, got the four local men to join the party from Amritsar, procured the swords, &c., is a Naib Subha attached to Gyani Singh, the head Subha of Rám Singh, in the Raikot part of the country. This Gyani Singh is a man who has been long a trusted agent of Rám Singh, and was imprisoned for two years by the Patiála Judicial Authorities for a Kuka disturbance in that State.

8. Whether the statements of the men admitted as Queen's evidence and other witnesses more or less concerned in the Amritsar and Raikot cases would be considered sufficient evidence to convict Rám Singh before a court of law I am unable to decide, but in my humble opinion a prosecution that does not result in conviction and sentence to at least transportation, will be a mistake. And it appears to me to be a case in which Government may fairly act without the usual course of elaborate legal procedure, and, as matter of general expediency and good government, send Rám Singh out of the country. He and his followers have now given most undoubted signs of a disposition to

set all law and order at defiance, and such a movement can fairly be taken advantage of to prevent further trouble and anxiety regarding Kukas, of which within the last ten years there has been more than enough.

9. Colonel Baillie is, in my opinion, inclined to give greater importance to the Kukas as a body than they are worthy of. He puts down the numbers who have joined the Pant at about 150,000, whereas my belief is that if they were now registered the number would fall much under 50,000.

10. The operations of Rám Singh and his Subhas are as yet generally confined to the districts of Ludiánah, Ferozpur, Jálandhar, Hushiárpur and Siálkot. In neighbouring districts there are a few Kukas, but they have not assumed any position of importance in the eyes of the people generally. At the same time there is no doubt that Rám Singh is a man of considerable ability and mark, and that, assisted by his staff of Subhas and the prosperity which has hitherto attended him, he is in a position to extend his influence to a dangerous degree. The very titles he has assumed to some extent mark his progress. When first heard of as the successor of Bálik Rám of Hazro, he was known as Rám Singh Mahant, afterwards as Guru Rám Singh, then as Sat Guru, and now as Sat Guru Bádshah.

11. As his following has increased, so have his worldly means. He now lives in state surrounded by a band of personal attendants, sits in Darbár, and receives retainers and messengers from all parts of the country. Lately some men of small local position, such as Sardárs and Jagirdars, have joined him, and an attempt has been made to get up a Kuka regiment in the service of the Máharája of Kashmír, and Kukas have been sent to Nipál with presents to the Government of that State. All this shews the workings of an ambitious mind, and from as small beginnings have sprung in the East great results.

12. My impression, strengthened by advice and information from native friends of every class, Sikh, Hindu, and Mahomedan, is, that the Kuka movement contains nothing of good, but much tendency to *fasád* or evil, that it is now so far in its infancy and so decidedly unpopular with the mass of the people and particularly with all orthodox Sikhs and well-disposed Hindus and Mahomedans, that it only requires a little exercise of power and authority on the part of Government to put a stop at once and entirely to a movement founded on evil and fraught with future discord and trouble.

No. 59 C., dated Lahore, 7th February 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, a letter No. 389, dated 1st February 1872, from the Commissioner of Ambálah, with enclosures, being the evidence collected regarding the designs of the Kuka sect, and its leader, Rám Singh, of Bhaini.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor would desire to direct particular attention to the memoranda recorded by Mr. J. W. Macnabb, the Officiating Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, and Colonel G. McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General of Police of the Ambálah Circle. These were written previous to the recent outbreak, with special reference to the murders committed by Kukas at Raikot and Amritsar.

3. The evidence in those cases was carefully considered by the Lieutenant-Governor, who did not think it advisable to authorise a criminal prosecution against Rám Singh for complicity in the murders; although it appeared certain that the disciples of Rám Singh would never have committed these murders with the object of stopping the slaughter of kine without the knowledge and approval of their spiritual head; and although, in the trials at Amritsar and Raikot, direct evidence was given by Dal Singh, Guláb Singh, Káhn Singh and Ganda Singh, implicating Rám Singh in the offence of abetting the murders by instigation, the Lieutenant-Governor was of opinion that the case against him was not sufficiently clear to make his conviction in a Criminal Court certain; and the failure of a prosecution ordered by the Government would have been regarded as a triumph by the irritated sect. The witnesses upon whose evidence the prosecution would have been compelled to reply were men mostly of the Kuka sect, who could not be trusted to adhere to statements once made, when called upon to repeat them in a case affecting the life or liberty of their Guru.

4. Nor did the Lieutenant-Governor consider it at that time expedient to apply to the Government of India for warrants under Regulation III. of 1818 against Rám Singh and his principal Subhas. He was of opinion that, if sufficient judicial proof to warrant the prosecution of Kuka leaders in the ordinary Courts were wanting, the case as it stood was not sufficiently strong to justify resort to the exceptional procedure reserved for critical emergencies; whilst there was still greater difficulty in directing a prosecution with the intention of using the warrant in the event of its being unsuccessful.

5. The attacks on Maloudh and Maler Kotla following so immediately one after the other, decided His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to deport Rám Singh and his most prominent Subhas from the Punjab, and the information which has since been received and forwarded to the Government of India, together with the evidence forming the enclosures to this letter, taken in connection with the proceedings at Amritsar and Raikot, and the evidence recorded for several years past of the tendency of the Kuka teaching and the character of its teachers, confirm the Lieutenant-Governor in the conviction that the deportation was necessary. His Honor is also of opinion that Rám Singh and his Subhas should be confined at a distance from the scene of their intrigues, at such a place and in such a manner as to render their rescue or escape or return to the Punjab impossible.

6. The evidence against Rám Singh previously collected has been considerably strengthened by that now obtained. His own statement, recorded by Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambálah, is conclusive as to his knowledge of the intentions of his followers to put a stop to the

slaughter of kine by the murder of butchers, for which he admits that his permission was asked before the perpetration of the crimes at Amritsar and Raikot. Rám Singh states that he refused permission, but it may be presumed that the direct evidence as to his complicity by permission or instigation is true; since his followers would not have adopted a line of conduct of which their chief had expressed disapproval, and the Kuka teaching for some time past had denounced cow-killing as a practice which should be stopped.

7. It is impossible to disconnect Rám Singh from the action taken by his followers in the recent outbreak. It was from the village of Bhaini that the band departed on their expedition, and it is shown that the information which Rám Singh was at first stated to have given to the police of the intentions of the party was of the most meagre description, and given not voluntarily, but after express interrogation by the Deputy Inspector. The evidence in the present proceedings is summed up by the Commissioner in the note of the 1st of February, which forms an enclosure to the present proceedings. This evidence affords strong proof that there was an intention of an organized rising of the sect in the Punjab, although it is probable that the undisciplined eagerness of some of the Kukas precipitated matters and ensured the failure of the design. The ambition of the Kuka sect to obtain political power and restore the Sikh *Khálsa* has for some time been notorious, and that there was a belief among the Kukas that the time for action had arrived is strengthened by the fact of a considerable number having sold their lands and property. The opinion of native gentlemen of known loyalty regarding the tendency of the teaching of Rám Singh and the objects at which he aimed was entirely in accordance with that at which the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor has arrived, and His Highness the Máharajáh of Patiála and other influential native gentlemen had strongly advised the arrest and removal of Rám Singh from the country.

8. As regards the executions at Maler Kotla, His Honor would call particular attention to the evidence given in Appendix IV. It is sufficient, joined to the probabilities of the case, to prove that had the gang of Kukas been successful at Kotla, their numbers would soon have been considerably swelled; and it would be impossible to contemplate without much anxiety and alarm even the temporary triumph of a fanatical mob appealing to the rooted and wide-spread prejudice against kine-killing.

9. In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor it was an object of very great importance to check this gang at once and completely, and he thinks that great allowance must be made for the operation of this well-grounded conviction on the mind of an officer placed in the position of Mr. Cowan. Doubtless that officer felt deeply that it depended on his action whether this fanatical outbreak was to be quelled once and for all, or whether, from hesitation, delay, or false mercy on his part it was to gain head, and, at the cost of much bloodshed and confusion, grow into a serious religious insurrection. There can be no question that the frequent reports made of fresh bodies of Kukas being in the neighbourhood threatening further attacks, together with

the uncertainty as to the state of things elsewhere, were calculated to deepen his sense of responsibility, and apparently had the effect of bringing him to the desperate resolution he ultimately arrived at.

10. The Lieutenant-Governor is not of opinion that the evidence now submitted indicates that the immediate retirement of the bands of Kukas who were observed moving towards Kotla was the result of the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, for in nearly every instance they are said to have gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. Their retirement appears to have been caused really by the attack having been beaten off by the Kotla people. Still the reports made of the approach of fresh bands, and his ignorance of their further movements, naturally tended to increase Mr. Cowan's anxiety, and to confirm him in his conviction that the circumstances called for and justified the immediate infliction of exemplary punishment.

11. The defects in Mr. Cowan's proceedings are patent. He recorded no evidence of witnesses or defence of the criminals, although there appears to have been time to have done so on the 16th. He hurried on the executions, although the prescribed reference to the Commissioner would not have caused twenty-four hours' delay. Above all, he included, without selection of ring-leaders and instigators, in one common capital sentence, all the persons (excepting women and children) known to have been concerned in the attack.

12. But, without desiring to disguise the precipitancy, the undisciplined presumption, or the unmeasured severity of Mr. Cowan's conduct, the Lieutenant-Governor cannot lose sight of the countervailing considerations. He did no injustice. The crimes punished were deliberately planned and committed, and were fraught with the utmost alarm to society from the secresy of their conception and the suddenness and desperation of their execution. It is true that the purpose was not accomplished; but there was not one of the criminals whose life was not strictly forfeited to public justice. So much may be said, even if these outrages are looked upon simply as municipal offences. But it is impossible so to regard them. There is not only much evidence, but also a universal agreement amongst persons qualified to judge, showing that, originating in a carefully-stimulated religious fanaticism, they had a political object, every step in the attainment of which threatened the most serious disturbance of the existing order of things. Hence not only was every one of these criminals' lives forfeited to public justice, but it was essential to the maintenance of public authority that a striking example should be made. Mr. Cowan had for some time past officiated as Deputy Commissioner of the Ludiánah District, in which are the head-quarters of the Kuka sect. He had the best opportunities of judging of the nature of their organization, and the tendency of their designs. As a Magistrate he has brought to conviction some of its members, and his life has been threatened in revenge. On hearing of the outrages under notice, he acted with promptitude in immediately proceeding to Maloudh, and with forethought in summoning the troops of the protected States, and his informal and

unauthorized sentences were, the day after their execution, supported by the deliberate pronunciation of similar sentences, by the authority to whom Mr. Cowan ought previously to have referred, on sixteen similar offenders.

13. The Lieutenant-Governor does not under-rate the necessity for holding officers in the exercise of public authority strictly responsible that the forms and procedure prescribed for their guidance are exactly observed, nor does he deny that an officer of cooler head and greater forethought, or even one more fearful of responsibility than Mr. Cowan would have vindicated in such a crisis the assailed rights of public order and political authority with more circumspection and discrimination. But, on the other hand, these very occurrences exemplify the difficult position officers may be placed in, and the dilemma to which minds, not perhaps exceptionally strong and necessarily much disturbed and excited, may be exposed. And the Lieutenant-Governor cannot blind himself to the consequences of the growth of a belief that the only course that can be followed with personal safety is the cautious adherence to technical forms, and the studied evasion of individual responsibility. When, therefore, as in the present case, His Honor sees no cause to doubt but that the proceedings—however, in his own opinion, hasty and irregular—were taken in good faith as necessary to the public safety, and—however indiscriminate, impolitic and unduly severe—involved, nevertheless, no absolute injustice, the Lieutenant-Governor holds that he chooses the lesser public evil in not withholding his support to irrevocable acts.

14. In compliance, however, with the instructions contained in your letter No. 122, dated 24th January, Mr. Cowan has been placed under suspension, and the Lieutenant-Governor can only ask for a careful consideration of the papers herewith submitted.

Memo. by L. Cowan, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, dated 3rd February 1872.

Forwards to the Commissioner the statements made before me to-day, of several Jats, Brahmins and Khatris of different villages, on the state of feeling prevailing among the Kukas in their villages. Much of what the Kukas say *may* be mere bravado; nevertheless the matter will require close watching. This evidence could be multiplied to any extent.

Statement of Atar Singh, son of Jowáhir, Jat, of Nárangwál, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

There are 18 or 20 Kukas in my village. They say openly that in Chait 1928 (March and April next) the Ráj of the Kukas is to commence, when all the country will become Kukas. Since the attack on Kotla, I have heard it said several times by Kukas that that was nothing, but that two "hállas" will shortly take place, headed by Rám Singh, which would give him possession of the country.

Yesterday, I was sitting in front of the Sarai at Ludiánah, when Gopál Singh, Kuka, who was released from Jail yesterday on security, came up and spoke to me and several others who were sitting there. He said, "They have taken away the Guru; but I will have him released; I will go to London."

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of PURBHU, son of Nának, Brahmin, of Rurka, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

THERE are 30 or 35 Kukas in my village. Two of them, Charat Singh and Utam Singh, are said to have been engaged in the Kotla affair. They left the village before the outbreak, and have not since returned. Two months ago Utam Singh and his brother Jiwa mortgaged their lands and gave the money to Rám Singh. They said openly that the Kuka Ráj was soon coming, and that then they would have their choice of villages. A year ago they all said that the Kuka Ráj was to begin in 1927. Now they say Rám Singh has ordered them to be in readiness, as their rule is to begin this year.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of DEVI CHAND, son of Jamayat, Khatri, of Raipúr, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

THERE are 150 or 200 Kukas in Raipúr. For the last six months it has been the talk of the whole village that Rám Singh is the "avatar" who is shortly to conquer India. Two months ago Darbára Singh mortgaged his land for Rs. 900, and gave money to Rám Singh. Several Kukas of Raipúr are now trying in secret to find purchasers for their lands. They say among themselves, and many of them have said that Rám Singh's "*taklíf*" will be for a few days only, and will resemble the *taklíf* of a former avatar, Rám Chandar, whom his enemies could not detain. When Rám Singh comes, his rule is to commence. The English are to be driven out. I have been told by many of them that Lehna Singh and Híra Singh were fools who disobeyed the orders of the Guru. The Guru told these two men (the leaders in the Maloudh and Kotla attacks) to wait a month, but they were not heeding and commenced before all the preparations were made and had injured the cause.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of DASAUNDHA SINGH, Jat, of Raipúr, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

FOR the last two or three years I have constantly heard the Kukas of my village say that their rule was to commence in 1927 or 1928. They all said that they had heard this from the Guru, Rám Singh.

Since the Kotla outbreak they say the time is close at hand, and that Rám Singh will be back in a few days to conquer the country. They laugh when any one says that Rám Singh is a prisoner. It is said by all of them that a Foreign State is to attack the British Army in a very short time, and that *then* will be the opportunity of the Kukas. A heavy revenge is to be taken on the British for their treatment of the Sat Guru.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of KURA, son of Goláb, Brahmin, of Raháwan Májra, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

I AM the Perohit of the Kukas of Búr Gújar, a village 2 coss from mine. There are 40 or 45 Kukas in Búr Gújar, including women and children. During the past year several of them have sold their lands and given the proceeds to Rám Singh. They have talked openly among themselves, and have often said to me that their "Ráj" was soon to commence, and that Kukas would then have their choice of the best land and villages. I have been offered to be made a Subha and a large tract of land promised to me if I would become a Kuka and wear their costume. Since the attack on Kotla I have ceased to be Perohit to the Búr Gújar Kukas.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of ATAR SINGH, son of Jíwan Singh, Jat of Gújarwál, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

SINCE the Kotla outbreak I have often seen the Kukas of my village laughing when people said the disturbance was over. They said that very soon there would be two other *fasáds,* and that then the country would be theirs. They say, "Why should we cultivate a few acres of land? In a little while we will have the whole country to choose from." Rám Singh, they say, will come back to conquer India. Two or three times it has been said to me, "Now is the time for you to become a Kuka; if you do not, there will be no mercy shown to you when our time comes."

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of SAMAND SINGH, son of Nihál Singh, Jat, of Gújarwál, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

THERE are 40 or 45 Kukas in my village. About a year or two years ago the Kukas began to say that it was prophesied that their rule would commence in 1927. It was a subject of common talk with them that when the Guru was ruler of India he would give them any lands or villages they might ask for. Kála Singh, Kuka, sold his land a few months ago, and gave the money to Rám Singh. Since the Kotla attack I have heard Búta Singh and Kála Singh, Kukas, say before a number of Kukas that Rám Singh could only be kept a prisoner for a few days, that he would be back in a few days, and that then he would take possession of the country. It has been the talk of the whole village for the last ten days that in Chait next there is to be a great disturbance. The Kukas say this openly before passers-by and people of all castes.

Yesterday I met Gopál Singh, Kuka, after he was released from Jail on furnishing security. He told me he would have Rám Singh released.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of GURMUKH SINGH, son of Bhúp Singh, Jat, of Gújarwál, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

I HEAR it said every day by the Kukas of my village, and it is the talk of every one in the village, that before the month of Chait is over there will be two more "hallas" headed by Rám Singh, and that then the Ráj of the Kukas will commence. They laugh at Rám Singh's being a captive, and say he will be back in ten days.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of NATHAL, son of Harria, Jat, of Gújarwál, on solemn affirmation, the 3rd February 1872.

I LIVE in the middle of a number of houses all occupied by Kukas. Deponent then says the same as Gurmukh Singh.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Dated 5th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Atar Singh.
Purbhu.
Devi Chand.
Dasaundha Singh.
Kúra.
Atar Singh 2nd.
Samand Singh.
Gurmukh Singh.
Nathal.

IN continuation of former correspondence, I send, in original, nine depositions of Jats, Brahmins and Khatris of different villages in the Ludiánah District, shewing the state of feeling among the Kukas.

It will be observed that all evidence points to the month of Chait (March, April) as the period when some disturbance is to take place.

From Maler Kotla I received yesterday intelligence of apprehensions being entertained of another attack being speedily made, but Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh does *not* consider the apprehensions to be well-founded.

There is decided uneasiness regarding the intentions of the Kukas, and I do not feel at all sure that we may not suddenly have further trouble, for which it is as well to be prepared.

No. 61 C., dated 9th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division

WITH reference to your No.—, dated 5th February, I am to enquire who selected Devi Chand, son of Jamiyat, Khatri of Raipúr, for examintion on the subject of Kuka feeling, and for what reasons.

2. I am to request you kindly to forward for perusal any vernacular communication received from quarters other than Police (which reach Government direct).

No. 73, dated 16th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

WITH reference to your letter 61 C., dated 9th February 1872, regarding Devi Chand, Khatri of Raipúr, I have ascertained from Mr. Cowan that the man happened to be in the compound when Mr. Cowan enquired if there were any men present from Kuka villages, and was brought to him with others who were also about the Court. He was not selected for any special reason.

No. 63 C., dated 9th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I AM desired to forward, for information, copy of a Memorandum submitted by the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, to the Commissioner of the Ambálah Division.

Memorandum by L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, dated 6th February 1872.

YESTERDAY the Sikh Sardár Utam Singh of Rámgarh in this district called on me.

After some conversation he dismissed his attendants and asked me if any troops were to be retained at Ludiánah. I told him I did not know, but that probably some sowárs and one or two companies of Infantry would be left at Ludiánah.

The Sardár then said to me, "There should be Artillery, Cavalry and " Infantry at Ludiánah. This will be the most important district in the " Punjab for some time to come. You must have troops here, and the " troops *must not be Sikhs.*"

I laughed at his remark, and told him that the Sikhs were the most faithful soldiers in the army, and when I questioned him further, he would only say that the Kukas of the villages in his neighbourhood were abusing Híra Singh and Lehna Singh (the leaders of the gang which attacked Maloudh and Kotla) for *having begun too soon.*

From other quarters rumours to the same effect have reached me, and I am endeavouring to find further reliable evidence that matters were precipitated by the rashness of Lehna Singh's gang. Sardár Utam Singh is a relative of Sardár Baddan Singh, who was wounded in the Maloudh attack. He has been in rather an excited state since the attacks, and may be an alarmist. Nevertheless, a remark of the kind I have quoted above, coming from a Sikh Sardár and a relative of the Máharájah of Patiála, is deserving of attention.

2. Information has reached me to-day that on Sunday (4th instant) a man from Bhaini went to Raipúr (a village containing a large number of Kukas) and gave out that Rám Singh had been released. On this there was rejoicing among the Kukas, and open exclamations that when Rám Singh arrived the Kuka rule would commence. I am making enquiries into this.

Translation of a petition from KARM KHAN, Nazim of Kotla State, dated 6th February 1872, to Commissioner, Ambálah Division.

IN obedience to your parwána dated 29th January 1872, to the effect that enquiries be made as to who saw Kukas going to and from Kotla on the day of attack, the Lambardárs of villages were summoned. Pala, Lambardár of Saroudh, Budhu, Lambardár of Khurd, Gandhi, Lambardár of Kothala,* and Rúpa, Lambardár of Bhágewál, stated that on the day of attack they severally left their villages for Kotla. On the road gangs of Kukas varying from 10 to 15 were seen at several places going towards Kotla. When the circumstances of the expulsion and death of Kukas were mentioned to them they (Kukas) stopped and returned, and were never seen again coming towards Kotla. Makhan of Kotla states that information of the assembly of Kukas at Hathoya being received, he proceeded to the spot. Lambardárs expressed their ignorance

* Not on map; about 4 miles from Kotla.—T.D.F.

Two persons whom he does not know were coming out of the village. He asked them about the Kukas. They said that 200 Kukas had gone towards Nábha * through Naríki and Saykha villages (Patiála territory) by the jungle road.

* This was represented to me at Kotla. Patiála Vakíl was ordered to ascertain the exact truth of this. His report has not been received. —T. D. F.

The inhabitants of other villages make statements to the effect that they had heard that Kukas were to re-attack Kotla and it was spread abroad that another attack on Kotla was certain. Kukas were assembled at Rubbun, &c.

Dated Ambálah, 8th February 1872.

COPY of above forwarded by Commissioner, Ambálah, to Secretary to Government, Punjab, for information, with reference to his No. 37 C., dated 26th January 1872.

No. 65 C., dated 10th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letter No. 59 C., dated 7th instant, I am desired to forward translation of a communication from the Nazim of Kotla to the Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, reporting on the gathering of Kukas towards Kotla on the day of the late attack.

No. 59, dated 9th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

BEGS to forward, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, copy of a Memorandum from Mr. L. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, dated 7th instant, and of its enclosures, regarding Rám Singh, the Kuka Guru.

Memorandum by L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, dated 7th February 1872.

SARDAR Utam Singh, of Rámgarh, called on me a few days ago on his way to Dehli.

He told me in conversation that it was currently reported that Rám Singh on leaving Maloudh had gone to Syál, and there had abused Lehna Singh and Híra Singh for beginning the disturbance before the arrangements were all completed.

I summoned the Lambardárs of Syál, and yesterday recorded their statements, which I herewith forward to the Commissioner and Superintendent. The evidence is important.

Statement of GOPAL SINGH, Lambardár of Syál, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, the 6th February 1872.

MY village is 5 or 6 miles from Maloudh. The day after the attack on Maloudh (*i. e.* 15th January) in the evening, Guru Rám Singh came from Maloudh, where he had gone to see you, and stayed all night in my village in the house of Bela Singh, Kuka. He was accompanied by five Kukas on horseback, and about 30 Kukas on foot, all armed with axes or gandásas. During the night a great many more Kukas assembled in Syál, till there were 15 horsemen, and about 125 footmen, most of them carrying axes or choppers.

There are 24 Kukas in Syál.

In the evening, I and the other Lambardárs went to Rám Singh in Bela Singh's house. We salaamed, and sat down near him. There was a great crowd. All the village had gone to see him. Rám Singh was downcast, and looked sad. He spoke very little at first. Some Kukas who came called out, "What are we to do? What is the order? Tell us, oh Guru, what has happened?"

Then Rám Singh said, "Lehna Singh and Hira Singh are fools. They disobeyed my order. I ordered them to wait till the month of Chait, but they were headstrong and would not obey me. They have spoiled my arrangements." He added, "If they had waited for two months as I ordered them, all would have gone well."

Three months before the attack on Maloudh, Rám Singh came to Syál and addressed a crowd of Kukas. He said then, "The shrines of *pirs* must be destroyed; there is a great shrine, Sakki Sarwar, which I will destroy in Chait next. I will send men to destroy it. I will make them invisible to their enemies, but their enemies shall be visible to them."

Three days ago at night, the sky, which had been clouded all day, suddenly became clear, and there were luminous appearances in it. The Kukas of my village turned out shouting that it was a sign from Rám Singh, that they were not to lose hope.

This morning, before I left the village, I saw some Kukas rejoicing, and on asking them the reason, they said they had heard Rám Singh had disappeared out of the Railway carriage which was taking him to Prâg, and would soon be back. They said, "We will see what will happen before Chait is over."

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of SANT RAM, Lambardár of Syál, taken on solemn affirmation, the 6th February 1872.

WENT with the other Lambardárs to see Rám Singh when he returned from Maloudh. Heard him abuse Lehna Singh and Hira Singh for beginning before Chait.

(Deponent then says the same as Gopál Singh, Lambardár.)

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of DYAL SINGH, Lambardár of Syál, taken on solemn affirmation, the 6th February 1872.

THIS witness says the same as the other two Lambardárs of his village, Gopál Singh and Sant Singh.

(Sd). L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

No. 66 C., dated 12th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letter No. 63 C., dated 9th February 1872, I am desired to forward copy of a further communication from the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah regarding Rám Singh and the Kukas. The Commissioner has been asked to have Bela Singh's statement recorded and forwarded for information.

No. 69, dated 12th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I AM desired to request, with reference to your No. 59, dated 9th February, that the statement of Bela Singh may be recorded and forwarded for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

Statement of SAIDA SINGH, Khewatdár of Raipúr, Ludiánah District, on solemn affirmation, the 9th February 1872.

ON Saturday last I returned to my village from Ludiánah, where I had been on business. Darbára Singh, Kuka, a Lambardár of Raipúr, came to my house on Sunday and said to me, "A Chamár has come from Bhaini who says that Rám Singh has been released and has returned to Bhaini. You have just come from Ludiánah; what have you heard?" I told him I had not heard anything about the Guru. Darbára Singh then said, "It is true; Rám Singh is the 11th Avatar. He has returned, or he will return in a few days; you will see what will happen in Chait next. If you are not a Kuka, it will go badly with you." I have often before this been told that if I did not become a Kuka before Chait 1928 I should be killed.

Taken before me,

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

No. 70 C., dated 12th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letter No. 68 C., of this date, I am desired to forward copy of a statement of a resident of Raipúr regarding Rám Singh and the Kukas, made before the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

Confidential Report, No. III., for week ending 3rd February 1872, by Captain F. H. CONOLLY, District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar.

DURING the week all has been quiet, but all over the district there is an uneasy feeling that the Kukas intend doing some further mischief, and it is said that this time they intend going at higher game, and not attacking villages and butchers.

2. The rumour I mentioned in my last weekly No. III., that on the 13th March next we should see what the Kukas would do, still gains ground.

3. Agreeably to orders received from Inspector-General of Police, I have ordered all the arms at Thanahs and Chokis to be kept locked up, and in the barracks in the city I have had regular places made to keep the arms under lock and key.

No. 71 C., dated 12th February 1872.

From—C. M. RIVAZ, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

WITH reference to the Confidential Report No. III., of the District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, for the week ending the 3rd February, in which it is stated, in the first paragraph, that "it is said that this time they (the Kukas) intend going at higher game, and not attacking villages and butchers," I am to request that you will ascertain from the District Superintendent, Captain Conolly, and report for His Honor's information, *who* said this.

Dated 9th February 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,
To—The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your memo. dated 7th instant, forwarding extract from a letter of the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, dated the 5th idem, directing my suspension from office until further orders. I only await the arrival of Major Parsons to make over charge of the district to him.

2. This degradation was most unexpected by me. I had hoped that my proceedings, irregular though they were, would, under the grave circumstances of the case, have met with the approval of Government. I entertain the hope that the order for my suspension was written before the evidence, so strongly confirmatory of the belief entertained by me at the beginning, reached the Government of India.

3. I have reported before that I did not carry out the executions at Kotla recklessly or thoughtlessly. I knew how great was the responsibility I was incurring. I knew that grave disapproval of my conduct by Government would in all probability be followed by dismissal from the service of Government; and to me, and to those dependent on me,

dismissal means ruin and beggary. But I incurred this great risk in the belief that the preservation of the peace of the country required the severe measures of repression adopted by me, and that no more lenient measures would have had the same effect.

4. If I have unfortunately failed to convince the Government that such severe measures were necessary, I will beg that twenty-three years of faithful service, during which time I have repeatedly received the thanks of Government, may be weighed against this one irregular proceeding. I have never been accused of cruelty. I have never in my recollection raised a hand to strike a native.

5. I shall feel obliged by your forwarding this letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, with the request that it may be transmitted, should His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor think fit, to the Government of India.

No. 72 C., dated 12th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

WITH reference to the order for the suspension from office of Mr. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, conveyed in para. 3 of your letter No. 122, dated 24th January, I am desired to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, copy of a letter from Mr. Cowan, dated 9th February 1872.

No. 289, dated 8th February 1872.

From—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to Government of India, Home Department,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I AM to acknowledge your telegram of the 29th ultimo, and your letters noted on the margin, all having relation to the late Kuka outbreak. The Governor-General in Council has considered these papers with anxious attention, and he wishes, before passing final orders on the subject, to direct your attention to the points which appear specially to require explanation.

No. 29 C.,	dated	22nd January	1872.
,, 35 C.,	,,	24th ,,	,,
,, 36 C.,	,,	26th ,,	,,
,, 38 C.,	,,	27th ,,	,,
,, 44 C.,	,,	30th ,,	,,

2. His Excellency in Council agrees with His Honor's opinion, expressed in his letter of 26th January, as to Mr. Cowan's promptitude and energy, and that some allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed; but he feels that nothing short of immediate urgent necessity could justify such a measure as the summary execution of 49 persons, and that in an exceptional and highly objectionable manner.

3. The papers at present before His Excellency do not appear to him to show the existence of any such immediate urgent necessity. The following are Mr. Cowan's own statements on the subject. In his letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 16th January, he says—

"The gang of rebels—for no other name will adequately characterise them—never numbered more than 125. Of these, there were at Maloudh 2 killed, 4 captured; at Kotla, 8 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time, but 68, including 27 wounded, have been captured in the Patiála State, at Rúr—a village twelve miles from this. The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns, or hanging, the prisoners to-morrow morning at day-break.

"Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority; and, to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur; but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once."

4. In his letter (No. 15) of the 17th January, also to Mr. Forsyth, he relates the circumstances of the arrest of the prisoners. He says that 68 of them, of whom 29 were wounded (seven very severely), surrendered to the Naib Nazim of Sherpúr and three Native Cavalry, and that the party, which originally consisted of not more than 125 men, had before that time lost nine persons killed and nine prisoners. He adds—"At least two-thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded, or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermin, and many more of them will be taken."

To use his own words—"the ruffians were completely cowed."

5. In the same letter he remarks that, in less than an hour after receipt of his letters, the Rájahs of Nábha and Jínd "despatched artillery, cavalry, and infantry to Kotla." He also makes the following remark: "It is certain that had their first attempts been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their extinction would not have been effected without much trouble. By the timely preparations at Kotla, the first efforts were defeated, and, by the active exertions of the Patiála officials, this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out." He adds, however, "but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example, and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and terrible."

6. In his letter of January 21st, he says—"As the contingents from adjoining Native States had arrived or were close at hand, I felt confident that, in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangements I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotla, or any place in its neighbourhood; but that a terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a rebellion."

7. These statements show that no immediate danger was to be apprehended; that, if the crime was an attempt at insurrection, it had failed; that the insurgents were "completely cowed," and were nearly all made prisoners, many of them being wounded as well; that the

danger which might have arisen, if the fort had been taken, had been averted; and that ample military force for the maintenance of order was at Mr. Cowan's disposal.

8. Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 19th, and its enclosure, no doubt, show that several small bodies of Kukas were observed on the 18th January (the day after the execution) in the neighbourhood of Kotla; but the conduct of these persons on the 18th could not have had anything to do with Mr. Cowan's act from the first.

9. The impression which the papers leave on His Excellency in Council is, that Mr. Cowan ordered the execution not under the pressure of immediate urgent necessity, but because he thought that it might possibly have the effect of preventing an insurrection of a more general kind.

10. In His Excellency's opinion, a general apprehension of this sort is not enough to justify what was done. Nothing could justify it except the presence of immediate urgent necessity, and of this His Excellency has no evidence whatever in the papers before him.

11. The apprehension that a general insurrection was imminent and *could* be averted by the means taken, and not otherwise, might have the effect of excusing Mr. Cowan to a greater or less extent if it rested upon reasonable grounds, but the papers disclose only slight, if any, grounds for such an apprehension. Upon this subject what Mr. Cowan has to show is some ground for thinking that when "this miserable attempt at rebellion," as he calls it, "had been stamped out," a summary execution would, and that punishment in the common course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling.

12. His Excellency further wishes to be more fully informed as to the grounds of Mr. Cowan's "belief that a serious outbreak was intended" (see paragraph 4 of his letter of 21st January to Mr. Forsyth), and he requests an expression of His Honor's opinion on the question whether there are any substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kukas, and whether he considers it necessary to the maintenance of the peace that any special measures for the prevention of such rebellion should be taken.

13. With regard to Mr. Forsyth's proceedings, they would appear to have been legal; but His Excellency in Council fails to perceive the necessity for such extreme and indiscriminate severity as Mr. Forsyth displayed.

14. His Excellency in Council awaits the explanations of the officers concerned upon these points, together with an expression of His Honor's views upon the whole matter, and will reserve final orders on the subject till they have been received and fully considered. Meanwhile, as you have been already informed by telegraph, His Excellency in Council thinks it necessary to maintain the instructions in paragraph 3 of my letter No. 122, dated 24th ultimo, that Mr. Cowan be suspended from office.

No. 73 C., dated 13th February 1872.

From—C. M. Rivaz, Esq., Offg. Under-Secy. to Govt., Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I am directed to forward copy of a letter, No. 289, dated the 8th instant, on the subject of the late Kuka outbreak, and to request that it may be transmitted to Mr. Cowan, and that you will report whether that officer is desirous of recording any further statement with regard to the action he took.

No. 50, dated 3rd February 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., c. b., Commissioner, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Crown, *versus* Bhagwán Singh, Gyán Singh, Thaman Singh and Mehr Singh, accused.
Charge, dacoity with murder, Section 396, Indian Penal Code.
Tried 19th January 1872.

As requested in his No. 48C., dated 30th ultimo, begs to forward, in original, the file of proceedings connected with the trial of the Kukas therein alluded to, together with another file noted marginally.

Maler Kotla jurisdiction.

Maler Kotla State,

versus—

1.—Albel Singh,	Kuka of	Balian,	Patiála.
2.—Rúr Singh,	Do.	Malu Májra,	Do.
3.—Kesra Singh,	Do.	Gillau,	Nábha.
4.—Saitha Singh,	Do.	Rabbú,	Ludiánah.
5.—Anúp Singh,	Do.	Sakraudi,	Patiála.
6.—Sobha Singh.	Do.	Rabbu,	Ludiánah.
7.—Variám Singh,	Do.	Chuna, Bahádur Singh,	Ludiánah.
8.—Shám Singh,	Do.	Jogah,	Patiála.
9.—Híra Singh,	Do.	Pittoke,	Nábha.
10.—Bhagat Singh,	Do.	Kángla,	Patiála.
11.—Hákim Singh,	Do.	Jubwál,	Amritsar.
12.—Variám Singh,	Do.	Mehráj,	Fírozpúr.
13.—Sobha Singh,	Do.	Baddal,	Nábha.
14.—Sújan Singh,	Do.	Rabbu,	Ludiánah.
15.—Bela Singh,	Do.	Do.,	Do.
16.—Jowáhir Singh,	Do.	Balian,	Patiála.

Charge,—Dacoity with murder at Kotla on the morning of the 15th January 1872.

Niaz Ali, for prosecution, on solemn affirmation,—18th January 1872.

I am Naib Nazim of Amargarh, in the Patiála State. On the 15th instant, about noon, a Jamadár of Rúr came and reported to me at Sherpúr that a body of Kukas had created a disturbance in Kotla, and had come to Rúr. I went at once with three sowars and a moharrir to Rúr.

Arrived there about 1 P. M. I saw 68 Kukas in the jungle about 30 or 40 paces from the village, of whom 29 were wounded,—some only with contusions. The villagers had all fled out of fear. I asked them where they had come from. They said they had come after attacking Maloudh and Kotla. I told them to give up their arms. Some agreed to give up arms, others refused, and they disputed about it. At last they gave up 16 talwárs, one spear, and a number of gandásas and axes and sticks. The swords before the Court are those they gave up. I arrested them and took them to Sherpúr. There were no troops or people of Kotla there. I got no information from Kotla. There were four horses with them. Three of them belong to the Sardár of Maloudh, and one to some one in Kotla. They had also a Kotla chapprassi's badge with them. I identify the horses out of Court. The 16 men before me, and the two women, were among the Kukas I captured. The leaders were Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakraudi, and Gurmukh Singh, a Lambardár of Pharwai, in Kotla. They told me they had left Bhaini with the intention of killing the cow-killers in Kotla, and that on the road they turned off to get arms in Maloudh. They did not tell me what they intended to do after leaving Kotla. I told them it was no use to resist; that though they might overpower me, the Máharája would not leave a man alive. After taking the arms, I collected a number of men and escorted the Kukas to Sherpúr, 4 coss from Rúr. I kept the prisoners a day at Sherpúr and then sent them to you at Kotla.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Accused do not question.

PUNJAB SINGH, for prosecution, on solemn affirmation,—18th January 1872.

I AM Lambardár of Rámnagar, in the Patiála State, and a Darbári of the State. On the 15th I went with Niáz Ali to Rúr. My village is on the road from Sherpúr to Rúr. I saw about 70 Kukas in the jungle outside the village, and the village deserted. After some dispute, they gave up their arms to Niáz Ali. There were 16 talwárs, a spear, and a number of axes and gandásas. There were four horses. I identify the arms shown to me. All the swords were marked with blood, and many were without sheaths. About 20 or 25 were wounded,—7 severely. I went with the prisoners to Sherpúr. They said they had come from Bhaini to massacre the people of Kotla who killed cows, and went to Maloudh to get arms. The 16 men and 2 women now before me were among those whom I took to Sherpúr. The four horses outside Court are those taken from them.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Accused do not question.

NARAIN SINGH, for prosecution, on solemn affirmation,—18th January 1872.

I AM the Mukhtár of Sardár Mith Singh, of Maloudh. Three of the horses—two mares and one horse—outside Court are the property of Sardár Mith Singh and his son, Baddan Singh. They were stolen from Maloudh on the evening of the 14th instant by a gang of dacoits who wounded the Sardár, Baddan Singh, and killed two men.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Accused do not question.

One of the swords shown to me was stolen from Maloudh at the same time.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Examination of ALBEL SINGH, Kuka, accused No. 1,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi festival 4 or 5 days ago. I met Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there. I left Bhaini with them and about 120 others. There was no talk of going to Kotla. They said they were all going to their homes. I went with them to Rabbu; remained a night there. Next day we all went to Maloudh in the evening. Híra Singh told us to come with him to Maloudh, and he would give us arms to kill the slayers of cattle. I remained in the bázár when the others went into the fort. No Subha came with us. When the gang left Maloudh, I accompanied and came to Kotla. Híra Singh said the cow-killers were there. I came into the city with the others as far as the "Killa" gate. I don't know who our guide was. I followed Híra Singh. I found a sword in Kotla. I wounded a man with a sword before the Treasury. I don't know who he was. I then ran away with the others and went to Rúr, where I was seized the same day by the Naib Nazim. No Subha incited us at Bhaini to commit this outrage. Híra Singh at Bhaini, and at several other places, has asked me to join him in killing the killers of cows. The man I wounded was killed by one of my companions. I don't know if any joined us on road from Bhaini. Several Kukas came to us and several left us. Rám Singh told us to leave Bhaini,—I don't know why. I make this confession voluntarily.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of RUR SINGH, Kuka, of Patiála, accused No. 2,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to the Maghi fair at Bhaini. I joined the Kukas who were with Híra Singh and Lehna Singh. We did not speak about killing cow-killers, but the thought came into my heart to do so. I left Bhaini after Híra Singh and his party. I joined them next morning in Rabbu.

I was going to my home. No one at Rabbu asked me to join them. I left Rabbu with the party and went to Maloudh. In my heart I thought that we would get arms in Maloudh. God told me. I went into the town, but remained in the gateway by God's order. I did not go further. When the Kukas retired I came with them and went to Kotla. No one told me to go. I went. I came into the town, and remained outside gate of palace. I had a stick. I joined in the fight before the treasury, but did not strike any one. I did not get a weapon. We ran away. A number remained behind. I don't know if they were killed or not. The men whose corpses were shown to me were with us, but I don't know their names. I went from Kotla with the others to Rúr, where I was captured. I don't know if all the other accused were in Kotla with us or not. I don't know if any left our gang after we left Kotla.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of KESRA SINGH, accused No. 3,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi melá. I sat near where Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were. They did not advise me to join them in any enterprise. God put it into my heart to go with them. No Subha spoke to us [this last remark is volunteered]. I left Bhaini with them. We went together to Rabbu, and from Rabbu to Maloudh. God ordered me to go there. No one else told me. I went inside, but stayed outside the fort gate whilst the others went in. I had not even a stick. I then came with the party to Kotla. I came inside the town to the palace gate. I was in the fight before the treasury, but had no arms. I don't know who killed the Kotwál. I don't know who showed us the road in. I followed others. We came to Kotla by God's order to kill the slayers of kine. From Kotla we went to Rúr, where we were captured. The whole gang was captured at Rúr. None left us on the road.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of SAITHA SINGH, accused No. 4,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini on the Maghi. I did not hear any counsel taken there to kill or rob. I followed the gang of Híra Singh and Lehna Singh to my house in Rabbu. I went with them to Maloudh on the following evening. There were in all 50 men, all Kukas. I went inside, but stayed at the outer gate. I don't know why we went there. I went because Híra Singh and Lehna Singh went. From Maloudh I came with the rest to Kotla; came inside of palace enclosure. I had a stick. I was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I left Kotla with the others. I did

not get a sword in Kotla. We all came to Rúr. None left us on road. At Rúr we were captured. The men whose corpses have just been shown to us were with us in Kotla. I don't know their names. The other accused were all with us in Maloudh and Kotla.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of ANUP SINGH, accused No. 5,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi. I went with Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, who are of my village. No counsel was taken at Bhaini. I left Bhaini with Híra Singh and a number of Kukas,—I don't know how many. I went to Rabbu,—from Rabbu to Maloudh. I stayed at the outer gate by order of Híra Singh. I did not go to the fort. I went from Maloudh to Kotla. I remained outside. Was not in the fight. When the rest ran out I joined them, and went to Rúr, where I was captured.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of SOBHA SINGH, accused No. 6, of Rabbu,—18th January 1872.

CAME from Rabbu with the gang; did not go to Bhaini. Then says, "I did not see Lehna Singh and Híra Singh in my village. The night of the row at Maloudh, I was in my village all night. On the 15th I left my home to go to the Pharwai melá. On the road, as I was passing Rúr I was arrested with the other accused. I was alone. I have no witnesses. (*Note.*—Pharwai is *between* Rabbu and Rúr.) I lost my road."

Confession of being with the gang.—T. D. F.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

THIS man was with the gang, and from the geographical position of Pharwai and Rúr it is evident he was not going to Pharwai.—T. D. F.

Examination of VARIAM SINGH, accused No. 7,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi fair. I saw Híra Singh there. I left Bhaini with him. He said nothing to me at Bhaini, but on the road he spoke about the killing of cows, and asked me to come to Kotla and stop it. I went to Maloudh with him. I stayed in the bázár outside the gate of the fort; was not engaged in the fight;

then I came to Kotla; came to the palace yard; was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I had only a stick with me. I then went to Rúr. I followed Híra Singh. I was captured at Rúr.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of SHAM SINGH, accused No. 8,—18th January 1872.

WENT to Maghi melá at Bhaini; met Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there. No counsel was held about cow-killing. I left Bhaini alone about noon. That night I put up at Kotla under a tree outside the town. I did not eat any food there. I have no witnesses that I was there alone. Next morning I went to Rúr, which is on the road to Jogah. I put up in the house of Mehtáb Singh, Kuka. A Lambardár, whose name I don't know, saw me. I was in Mehtáb Singh's house when I was seized. I was not with the other Kukas when I was seized.

Niáz Ali re-examined.—When Shám Singh was seized he was sitting with the other Kukas and dressing their wounds.

Shám Singh continued.—I was formerly in the service of the Jínd Rája, and dismissed for being a Kuka.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession of being at Kotla.

The case is clear against this man of being with the gang.—T. D. F.

Examination of HIRA SINGH, accused No. 9,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi. I left Bhaini with Shám Singh (preceding witness, who said he left alone); came to Kotla; stayed under a tree and next morning went to Rúr; put up in house of Híra Singh. His brother, whose name I don't know, was there: he is a Kuka. I went out for a necessary purpose as Híra Singh and Kukas were being arrested, and I was arrested with them. I have no witnesses.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

This man was not seized in a house. The whole gang were taken in a body. He confesses that he was at Kotla.—T. D. F.

Examination of BHAGAT SINGH, accused No. 10,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi melá. I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh there. I joined their party. These two preached against cow-killing, and said they were going to Kotla to kill the killers of kine, and invited us to accompany them. No Subha came near us. Rám Singh came and told us not to make a disturbance there, but to take our food and go. A great many Kukas were in a state of frenzy. I was not. I went with them to Rabbu; then to Maloudh, inside outer gate; then to Kotla, to palace yard. I had a stick. I was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I did not get any arms. We went first to the treasury to get arms. Híra Singh said that after getting arms we would kill the killers of cows. We ran away to Rúr, where I was seized. We had many wounded with us; therefore we remained together. I did not hear that we were to go anywhere after leaving Kotla. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh were wounded in Kotla; therefore we were dispirited and gave up the game.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of HAKIM SINGH, accused No. 11,—17th January 1872.

I DID not go to the Maghi melá at Bhaini. I went to Ambálah to search for service 25 days ago. I lived with Sobha, a Police Havildár. I was formerly acquainted with him. I stayed four days with him. I asked Tahl Singh, in the Police, to get me service. I don't know what his appointment was. I think he was a munshi. He did not take me to any superior officer. I don't know if they will give evidence for me or not. I left Ambálah 15 or 16 days ago; went to Sughar; put up with my "Nánki." I don't know how many days I stayed there. I don't know who lives next to my Nánki in Sughar. From Sughar I went to Rúr. I went there in search of service. *I do not know any one in Rúr.* I sat down outside; other Kukas came up, and I was seized with them. I have no witnesses.

What service is to be found at Rúr?—T. D. F.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

THIS man was seized with the others of the gang in a body. His story about sitting down outside and being joined by other Kukas is quite incredible. He is a native of Amritsar.—T. D. F.

Examination of VARIAM SINGH, accused No. 12,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to the Maghi fair at Bhaini. I met Lehna Singh and Híra Singh there, and I joined their party. They told us to fight for our religion, and asked who would follow them. I left Bhaini with them on afternoon of 13th. About 60 or 70 other Kukas were with us. We

went to Rabbu; then to Maloudh for arms. I went into the bázár, but did not enter the fort. I did not fight. Then I came with the gang to Kotla; entered the palace yard; had a stick; joined in the fight and struck several persons with my stick; then fled with the others to Rúr, where I was apprehended. I did this because God told me to do it.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of SOBHA SINGH, accused No. 13,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to the Maghi melá at Bhaini, and went with Híra Singh's party to Rabbu, then to Maloudh, and afterwards to Kotla. At Maloudh I went into the fort, but did not attack any one. At Kotla I went into the palace yard; was in the row; did not strike any one. I had a stick only. Then I went to Rúr, where I was captured. I went by order of Híra Singh to Maloudh and Kotla.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of SUJAN SINGH, accused No. 14,—18th January 1872.

MY home is at *Rabbu.* I joined Híra Singh at Rúr. I did not go to Kotla or Maloudh with them. I went to Rúr six days ago for the Pharwai melá (Pharwai is beyond Rúr). I did not go to Pharwai, because Gurmukh Singh did not go there. I am not Gurmukh Singh's servant, or in any way connected with him. I lived in Rúr for one day in the house of a man whose name I do not know. I went out and sat down with some Kukas who were outside the village, and was seized. I have no witnesses to my defence.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

NIAZ Ali's statement is clear that all the 68 Kukas were in the jungle 30 or 40 paces from the village of Rúr, and said they had come from Kotla; all the villagers of Rúr had fled out of fear. I consider this man's statement quite incredible. T. D. F.

Examination of BELA SINGH, accused No. 15,—18th January 1872.

I DID not go to Maghí melá. When they came to my village, Rabbu, I joined them and went to Maloudh. I went to the bázár; then I went to Kotla and entered the town; stayed outside the palace gate. I had no arms. I was not in the fight, but saw it. We went to Kotla to kill the killers of cows.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

Examination of JOWAHIR SINGH, accused No. 16,—18th January 1872.

I WENT to the Maghi melá at Bhaini. I left alone and joined Híra Singh at Rabbu. I went with them to Maloudh and stayed at the outer gate. I then came to Kotla, and came as far as the palace gate. I did not join in the fight. I then went to Rúr, and was captured there.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Confession.—T. D. F.

ORDER.

THE whole of the accused in this case were captured immediately after the attack on the town of Kotla. They had in their possession arms which were deeply stained with blood, and property stolen from the State of Kotla and Sardár of Maloudh. The whole of the accused make admissions which amount to confession of guilt, and of their guilt no reasonable doubt can be entertained. The offences these men have committed are no ordinary ones. They have committed an overt act of open rebellion, and deserve the severest penalty of the law. I commit the accused for punishment to the Commissioner and Agent for the Kotla State.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

The 18*th January* 1872.

[NOTE.—The case is headed dacoity with murder, but it is a much more serious offence in reality, as Mr. Cowan says.—T.D.F.]

THE conduct of certain officials of the Patiála State has been most praiseworthy. Considerable intelligence and courage were displayed by Níáz Ali, Naib Názim, in the capture of so formidable a gang with the aid of only a few followers. His attendants too are deserving of reward for the prompt and ready aid they rendered to him.

I recommend the following rewards, *viz.* :—

	Rs.
To Niáz Ali, Naib Názim	1,000
Panjáb Singh, a Darbária...	300
Jaimal Singh, who gave the information ...	200
Mastán Ali	100
Utam Singh	50
Ratan Singh	50
Guláb Singh	50
Partáb Singh	50

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

The 18*th January* 1872.

Kotla State *versus* Albel Singh and 15 others, Kukas. *Charge*—Dacoity with murder at Kotla on the morning of 15th January 1872.

This case has been conducted by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, on behalf of the Kotla Authorities,—the Názim and Tahsíldár sitting with him and conducting the trial.

The evidence of Niáz Ali and Panjáb Singh shows that a compact body of 68 or 70 Kukas were found by them in the jungle outside the village of Rúr, which place had been deserted by the villagers through fear. When interrogated these men all acknowledged that they had come from Kotla. Swords, one spear, axes, and gandásas were in their hands and covered with blood. The statements furnished by the Názim establish the fact of the attack upon the palace and treasury of Kotla, the murder of the Kotwál and seven of his men, besides wounding of 15 more.

It is impossible to disciminate now between those who actually struck the blows which caused the death of these men; nor at this present moment would it be wise to display leniency towards a gang, every one of whom is according to law equally liable to the same punishment. The intentions of this gang are clearly indicated by the leader Rám Singh (*vide* his statement made before me at Ludiánah on 17th). As regards prisoners 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15 and 16, their statements are ample confession of their being actually inside Kotla. 8 and 9 admit being at Kotla. 6, 11, and 14 admit being with the gang when caught, and their admission, coupled with the statements made by accused 3 and 4, leave no doubt in my mind that they were of the gang, and therefore are equally liable to punishment.

I concur with the committing officer, and confirm the sentence of death against all, to be carried out into immediate execution.

(Sd.) T. D. Forsyth,

Commissioner and Superintendent,

Ex-Officio Agent to Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab.

Kotla, *the* 18*th January* 1872.

The remaining prisoners caught, but who, it appears, were not taken with this gang, will be dealt with separately.—T. D. F.

The meritorious conduct of the Patiála officials having been certified by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, I sanction the rewards to each as recommended by him: the money to be paid from the Kotla revenues. Provision is also to be made for the families of the Kotwál and others who fell gallantly defending the palace and property of the Maler Kotla State. The details will be settled in consultation with the Nazim of Kotla.

(Sd.) T. D. Forsyth,

Commissioner.

Kotla, *the* 18*th January* 1872.

COURT OF SESSIONS, AMBALAH DIVISION.

Case No. 1 of 1872.

THE CROWN *versus* 1, BHAGWAN SINGH ; 2, GYAN SINGH ; 3, THAMAN SINGH ; 4, MEHR SINGH.

Charge,—Dacoity with murder ; Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Arrangement of file.

1. Calendar charge and opening sheets.
2. Report of Civil Surgeon, Ludiánah.
3. Other evidence for prosecution.
4. Examination of accused before Committing Magistrate.
5. Defence.
6. Opinion of assessors.
7. Finding and sentence of Sessions Judge.

The 19*th January* 1872.

Calendar of Prisoners committed by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, in the month of January 1872, *to take their trial before the Sessions Judge.*

Name, parentage, residence, caste and age of accused.	Offence, and the date on which committed.	For Prosecution.						Defence.	
		To the fact.	Apprehension.	Medical evidence.	Finding and identity of property or body.	Character.	Other evidence.	Defence.	Character.
1. Bhagwán Singh, son of Rám Singh, Kuka. 2. Gyán Singh, son of Dala Singh, Kuka. 3. Thaman Singh, son of Albel Singh, Kuka. 4. Mehr Singh, son of Golába, Kuka.	Dacoity with murder. Committed on the 14th January 1872.	1. Dasaundhi. 2. Kishna. 3. Súba. 4. Hari Singh. 5. Sardár Badan Singh. 6. Nihál Singh.	7. Sáhib Singh. 8. Rám Singh. 9. Sundar. 10. Nathwa. 11. Basáwa.				12. Sarfráz Khán, Deputy Inspector. 13. Dhonkal Singh. 14. Kirpa. 1. Dasaundhi. 2. Kishna. 3. Súba. 7. Sáhib Singh. 4. Hari Singh. 5. Sardár Badan Singh. 6. Nihál Singh. 15. Dewa Singh.	None.	
Names.	Date of apprehension.	Whether on bail or in prison.							
Accused 1, 2, 3 and 4.	14th January 1872.	In prison.							

Abstract of case.

Against the four accused Bhagwán Singh, Gyán Singh, Thaman Singh and Mehr Singh the evidence is clear and conclusive. They are all wounded, and were taken in the very act of committing the offence with which they are charged. Their presence at the place of capture is incompatible with innocence; some further enquiry must be made into the conduct of the remaining three prisoners who are forwarded to the District Superintendent of Police for separate enquiry and chalán.

The accused Nos. 1 to 4 are committed to take their trial before the Sessions Judge this 19th day of January 1872.

This order is explained to them. They have no witnesses.

(Sd.) L. Cowan,

Magistrate.

Camp Maler Kotla:

The 19*th January* 1872.

Charge.

I, L. Cowan, Esquire, Magistrate of Ludiánah, hereby declare that Bhagwán Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Magistrate.*

The 15*th January* 1872.

Charge.

I, L. Cowan, Esquire, Magistrate, hereby declare that Gyán Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Magistrate.*

The 15*th January* 1872.

Charge.

I, L. Cowan, Esquire, Magistrate, hereby declare that Thaman Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Magistrate.*

The 15*th January* 1872.

Charge.

I, L. Cowan, Esquire, Magistrate, hereby declare that Mehr Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Magistrate.*

The 15*th January* 1872.

Proceedings of a Court of Sessions held by T. D. Forsyth, Esq., *C.B., Sessions Judge of the Ambálah Division, at Maloudh, Ludiánah District, on the* 19*th day of January* 1872, *with the aid of the following Assessors :—*

1. Mír Hásham Khán, Bahádur, Rasáldár.
2. Abdul Kádir, Superintendent of Works.
3. Mahtáb Singh, Lambardár of Daúda.

The CROWN, prosecutor, *versus* the following prisoners :—

1.	Bhágwan Singh,	son of	Rám Singh ;	Caste Kuka ;	aged	years.
2.	Gyán Singh,	do.	Dala Singh,	do.	do.	do.
3.	Thaman Singh,	do.	Albel Singh,	do.	do.	do.
4.	Mehr Singh,	do.	Golába,	do.	do.	do.

Charge :—Dacoity with murder, Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Committed by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, at Ludiánah, on the 19th January 1872.

The charge is read and explained to the prisoners.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge, Ambálah Division.*

Memo. of papers transferred from the Magistrate's File to the Sessions File, and read out as part of the Proceedngs of this Court:—

Calendar.
Charge sheets.
Report of Civil Surgeon, Ludiánah.
Evidence of Sardár Baddan Singh, taken by Mr. L. Cowan.
Examination of the four accused before the Committing Magistrate.

Ludiánah, 18th January 1872.

From—JOHN INCE, Esq., M.D., Civil Surgeon, Ludiánah,

To—The Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

I HAVE the honor to report that about 8 A. M. on Monday, the 15th instant, I received your verbal instructions, through the Superintendent of Police, to proceed without delay to Maloudh for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the persons killed and wounded during the attack by the Kukas upon that place the previous evening. I at once laid out my horses, and joined you at Maloudh between 2 and 3 P. M the same day, having been somewhat delayed in the latter portion of the journey by rain. My Hospital Assistant, Mirza Amír Beg, accompanied me with medicines, instruments, and surgical appliances.

2. The following statement shows the number of persons I examined :—

Persons.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Maloudh men ...	2	2	4
Kukas ...	2	4	6

Maloudh men.

3. Of the Maloudh men killed, one was Búta, the Sardár's coachman, who was wounded in five places, the chief one being across the right temple, probably by a gandása, and the skull was fractured ; the other was

Nabi Baksh, a Munshi, who had received five very severe sword wounds, two of which were across the back of the neck, and by which his head was nearly severed from his body.

Killed.

4. Of those wounded was the young Sardár himself, Baddan Singh, who had received six wounds, three of which were probably sword cuts; one by a gandása, and two by sticks; fortunately they were all slight, but that across his left lower jaw, a sword cut about four inches long, will leave an indelible scar. The other, Nihál Singh, received three slight sword wounds,—one across the right cheek, and two others upon the left hand and wrist.

Wounded.

5. Of the dead Kukas No. 1 had an incised wound over the left cheek-bone and a fractured skull. No. 2 had an incised wound across the front part of the head, and also a fractured skull. The expression of these two bodies was a most fiendish one, and contrasted horribly with the placid faces of the two Maloudh ones which were lying beside them in the same shed; indeed, the scene afforded a striking proof of the fact that the state of the mind, or rather its facial reflection, at the moment of death, is as lasting as the attitude of the remaining portions of the body.

Kukas.

Killed.

6. Of the four wounded, Gyán Singh had received a bullet wound in the right arm, a little below the shoulder joint, causing a very severe and comminuted fracture of the bone. Bhagwán Singh had a slight contused wound on the back of the right elbow, and a contusion on the back. Thaman Singh had a slight contused wound about half an inch long just above the left elbow, and three slight contusions upon the head. Lastly, Mehr Singh had a contusion over the left hip, at the slightest touch of which he cried out very vociferously and out of all proportion to the apparently slight injury he had sustained.

Wounded.

7. About 7 A. M. the next day (the 16th) I started on the same duty for Maler Kotla, as the Kukas had made a still more formidable attack upon the latter town the morning after their assault upon Maloudh. After a very disagreeable ride in a drizzling rain across country, which, owing to the very heavy rain, was here and there several inches deep in mud and water, I reached Kotla about 10 A. M., and the following is a detailed account of the killed and wounded I there examined:—

Visitation of Maler Kotla.

Persons.	Killed.	Wounded.				Grand Total.
		Very severely.	Severely.	Slightly.	Total.	
Kotla men ...	8	2	4	9	15	23
Kukas ...	7	1	1	...	2	9

8. The eight Kotla men who were killed had all been burned or buried before my arrival, but I was informed that one was the Kotwál and the other seven sepoys.

Kotla men.

9. The names of the two who were *very severely* wounded are Háfiz Ali Sher, Munshi, who received five sword wounds,—one across right side of the head, another across left side of the face, another across right side of the neck, and another upon the lower lip, but the worst was that across the left temple, by which the skull was fractured; and Gainda, a sepoy, who received a sword wound upon the top of the head, which probably caused a fracture, and another slighter one upon the right arm. The names of the four who were *severely* wounded are—Míra Baksh, a sword cut across left wrist; Jhanda, with a sword cut across left wrist; Kora, with a sword cut across left wrist; and Jassa, whose thumb and two first fingers of the left hand were cut off, and who is said to have killed the Kuka who maimed him. The names of the nine who were *slightly* wounded were—Bíra, with four sword wounds; Ganda, three sword wounds across the fingers of the left hand; Kamma, two wounds, a sword puncture, and a contusion; Maiho, several contusions by a lathi, or stick; Subadár Sháhdat Khán, one sword cut upon the left arm near the wrist; Abdul Rahím Khán, one sword cut; Ghulám Muhammad (who said he killed three Kukas himself), one sword puncture; Khadia, one contusion upon the head; and Dína, one contused wound.

Wounded.

10. The bodies of the seven Kukas who had been killed I found lying in pools of blood, and heaped together upon the floor of a small room near the treasury; their attitudes were various, but the expression of the faces was nearly the same in all, and no less fiendish than that of their dead comrades at Maloudh. They had been terribly hacked about with swords, chiefly about the heads and chests, and most of them had received several wounds; the head of one was nearly severed from the body, and the right arm of another was completely separated half-way above the elbow, and was lying beside the corpse.

Kukas.

Killed.

11. Of the two wounded Kukas, one was Wazír Singh, who had received a dangerous sword wound about five inches long over the region of the spleen, and another and slighter one upon the left shoulder. Of the other wounded person only the severed right hand was picked up after the fight; I found it lying amongst the dead bodies, and satisfied myself that it was not a part of either of them, but really a member belonging to another.

Wounded.

12. After examining the dead bodies, and visiting all the wounded which have been above described,—most of whom were, except the Kukas, lying at their own houses in the town,—and giving advice and directions regarding their treatment, I left them in charge of the Native Medical Officer attached to the dispensary there. I then returned to the spot where

Conclusion.

the principal fighting had taken place, and, having written and despatched to you the demi-official account of what I saw on arrival at Kotla, the particulars of the Kuka attack, the gratifying news of the capture of so many of the fugitives by the Patiála Tahsíldár of Sherpúr, and some other matters, I prepared to return to Ludiánah, which I reached about 8 o'clock the same evening.

Witness No. 2 for prosecution, Dhoukal Singh, son of Máha Singh, age 60 years, caste Rajput, resident of Maloudh, occupation cultivator. States on solemn affirmation :—

I am darwán, and was on duty at the gate of the town on the evening of the 14th when some lamps were lighted. I was sitting at the gateway, when suddenly a number of men (Kukas), perhaps 200, came in. They seized my hands and tied them behind my back, and placed a guard of four men over me. They passed on, and when they came back and went out, my son untied my arms. They were in the fort about an hour or so. There was some fighting, and the Kukas ran out.

Prisoners do not cross-examine.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. Forsyth, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 4 for prosecution, Dasaundhi, son of Lahya, age 40 years, caste Teli, resident of Maloudh, occupation teli. States on solemn affirmation :—

I am a syce in the employ of the Sardár Mith Singh. I was in the stables when the Kukas came. My brother, Búta, coachman, told me to get out of the way, and I went to my house from fear, but I heard a noise and went out and found my brother killed. I hit about, and my stick was broken. They took two mares away with them. I only got a blow on my arm—no mark left. I recognized Pahára Singh. He was on a mule. I knew him because he was born here. He came inside riding his mule. There is another man whom I can identify if I see him. He was wounded on the leg. I recognized No. 2, Gyán Singh also. They asked me for a horse, but I would give none. Then they attacked my brother.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. Forsyth, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. for prosecution, NATHUA, son of , age years, caste , resident of , occupation . States on solemn affirmation :—

ABOUT 10 A. M. the day after the dacoity I went to village Arori. At the well near it I saw some one sitting in his blanket. I asked who he was. He said a Sádh. I seized the blanket, and he called out, "Don't; my leg is broken." I then knew he was a Kuka, so had him apprehended. I recognise him as Mehr. Arori is not a mile from Maloudh.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 5 for prosecution, KISHNA, son of Thákur Singh, age 25 years, caste Rajput, resident of Maloudh, occupation, chaprási of Sardár. States on solemn affirmation :—

I AM chaprási of the Ludiánah Court in service with Sardár Baddan Singh. I was in the Kacheri building in the evening, when about 18 or 20 Kukas came in. I was sitting about two paces from Kázi Nabi Baksh. They demanded arms. The Munshi said he had none. They then attacked him with axes on the neck and killed him. I got a blow from a stick on the back. It was night. I could recognise no one. I ran away. The Munshi was killed in my presence. Parbu, another chaprási, was there, and he attacked the Kukas, and got a slight wound in return. I do not recognise any one. The Munshi was seated, and was dragged out and asked for arms, and, because he gave none, was murdered. I then ran out, leaving the Kukas inside, and went to Khera, a village close by, and roused the people. About 90 men came with me and stopped the door of the village and there was a scuffle. I know nothing about the capture of these Kukas now in Court.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 6 for prosecution, DEVA SINGH, son of Jaimal Singh, age 18 years, caste Jat, resident of Maloudh, occupation in service of Sardár. States on solemn affirmation:—

WHEN the Kukas came I was in my father's house. About 20 men came in, and one of them struck my mother on the wrist and asked for arms and for the keys to open the boxes in our house. They took away a double-barrelled gun belonging to my father, also a talwár belonging to the Sardár. I could not identify the men, it was night.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 7 for prosecution, HARI SINGH, son of Sher Singh, age 50 years, caste, resident of Maloudh, occupation, service of Sardár. States on solemn affirmation :—

I AM servant to Sardár Baddan Singh. When the Kukas came in, Sardár Baddan Singh had come from shooting, and it was eventide. I was sitting by him, when some 10 or 12 Kukas came in, and called out 'Fatteh', and attacked him. They asked for arms and horses. There was a scuffle, and all came outside the room. There they wounded the Sardár by blows on the neck and head. He then seized an axe from one of them and laid about him with it, and they fled. They abused him, saying he was a friend of the Máharája and a child of the English. Bishan Singh and Nihál Singh were there at that time. I was merely pushed. There was no wound inflicted on me.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*

Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 8 for prosecution, SAHIB SINGH, son of Gurdás Singh, age 40 years, caste Jat, resident of Kheri, occupation . States on solemn affirmation :—

ON the evening when the Kukas came I was in my village, when a chaprási and sweeper came calling out that dacoits had attacked the village. I and my fellows turned out to the number of about 90, and ran to the gate of the Maloudh town. Found it shut and protected by the Kukas, so we had to go out and entered by a bastion. I went first along the street, and found that Búta, coachman, had been killed. We all collected and there was a general fight, and four of their number were struck down and captured. I did not go in to the bázár. There may have been more killed. I did not recognise any dacoits, nor can I do so now. I thought they were ordinary marauders, but people all said they were Kukas. I had a *láthi* in my hand ; so had others. My Lambardárs came out too to the rescue. Of the four men now in Court two were captured just outside the town near the Mori, two about 200 yards outside. It was dark. I do not recognise the men, but I knew they had been seized. My villagers had no arms,—only sticks and stones. I got a wound on my shoulder, and many were wounded with stones and sticks. Of the four men who were brought in two died. Two others were apprehended in the morning. Of the four men brought in at night all were more or less wounded.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*
Ambálah Division.

Witness No. 9 for prosecution, SUBAH, son of Albela, age 20 years, caste Gújar, resident of Maloudh, occupation syce, in service of Sardár Baddan Singh. States on solemn affirmation :—

I AM syce in Sirdar Baddan Singh's service. On the evening of the dacoity about 20 Kukas came into the yard where I was. Some passed on up-stairs. They took away 16 horses out of the stables. 12 came back, having been released by the inhabitants pelting the dacoits with bricks. They succeeded in carrying four excellent horses away. I did not recognise any one. I hid from fear when they came, and did not get wounded.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*
Ambálah Division.

[Transferred to Sessions file, the Sárdár too being ill to attend Court.]

Dated 16th January 1872.

Sardár BADDAN SINGH, for prosecution, on solemn affirmation :—

ON the evening of the 14th, about 6½ P. M., I was seated in this room· About 12 or 13 men armed came up to the door and came in. At first they salámed, then seized me by the hair and dragged me to the door. They said, " You give assistance to the English ; that is not good. You are a relation of the Máharája's." After being dragged across the doorway I seized an axe out of the hand of one of the Kukas and struck the men who were holding me with it. Before I seized the axe I was wounded in three or four places with a sword. They then ran away. They lighted a blue-light (mehtáb) to light them up my stairs. I identified one of the accused, Lakka Singh, Subha. He did not speak. I have often seen him. They asked for arms and saddles for the horses they had taken.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

Witness No. — for prosecution, RAM SINGH, son of Gurditta, age 30 years, caste Jat, resident of Samulkheri, occupation Lambardár. States on solemn affirmation :—

I WAS present at the outside of the wall when two men, wounded, were captured and brought in. I do not recognize faces now, for it was quite dark at the time, but these men here were caught and brought in. Two men had already been captured when I saw the men captured at the Mori and brought in. Out of the four men caught at night two died. In the morning two more were caught and brought in.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*
Ambálah Division.

Witness No. — for prosecution, SUNDAR, son of Tára, age years, caste Brahmin, resident of Maloudh, occupation . States on solemn affirmation:—

ON the morning after the dacoity I was going outside the village for a necessary purpose, and saw a man going along very slowly. He was wounded on his arm, and he asked me the way to Kukhenwal. I asked where he was going to, and he said to Kotla. I ran in and told that a Kuka was outside, and the Thánadár then went out and brought him in. I recognise Thaman Singh as the man apprehended.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Urdu language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Sessions Judge,*
Ambálah Division.

Examination of accused BHAGWAN SINGH, son of Ram Singh, Kuka, of Nagal, Patiála, accused No. 1.—16th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini five days before "Maghi." I went alone from my village. I did not join any gang. The Kukas who were seated near me talked of going to loot Kotla. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh of Sakroudi were among them. There were about 50 or 60 men who planned to attack Kotla. I don't know who first originated the idea, but I heard every one saying that they would get horses and arms at Kotla. There was no mention of Maloudh at Bhaini. No one asked me to join them; it was my fate to join them. I did not see any Subhas among the party. This gang were not *mastánas.* This party were separate from all the others at a well of Rám Singh's, about 300 paces from the village. They belonged to different villages. On the

13th, after eating food at noon, we all left Bhaini. There were about 50 or 60 in all. There were no swords with us. There were a few small gandásas. I did not hear any one say that they would be revenged for Gyani's death. I knew that we were going to Kotla to seize horses and arms. I do not know what it was intended to do after we got the horses and arms. We all went together from Bhaini, and going by Pael in the Patiála State reached *Rabbu* on the Patiála border, 2½ koss from Maloudh, when a watch of the night had gone (probably 10 P. M., 13th January). We did not stop at any village on the road to Rabbu. I don't know if any others joined in or supplied arms on the road or not. I had only a stick in my hand. I was mounted on my mare (worth Rs. 2-8-0). We rested that night and next day in Rabbu, at a well outside village. People from the village brought bread to us. I do not know their names. We all left when two gharís of the day remained. There was no Subha with us. I did not see any one with talwárs; a few had axes, and the rest sticks. I did not know we were coming to Maloudh till we reached the village. Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were our leaders. There were the same number when we reached Maloudh as when we left Bhaini. I arrived at Maloudh and came in to the village with the others on horseback. I am lame. I came only as far as the oilman's shop, where oil was taken from. I did not join in the attack. I sat on my mare in the bázár whilst the others attacked the house and kacheri. A little while after the Kukas began to run away, and bricks were thrown from the roofs of the houses. I was struck in several places and fell off my mare. I was also struck by a *láthi* and seized. I only know the names of Híra Singh and Lehna Singh of the dacoits. I make this confession voluntarily. I don't know the names of the two Kukas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole of statement of accused; and to the best of my belief no influence, &c., was used to make the confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate*

Defence.

No. I. Bhagwán Singh, son of Rám Singh, caste Kuka, residence Nagal Ilaqa, Patiála—Having pleaded guilty, says the statement he made before the Magistrate is quite correct; it is read over to him, and then adds :—I am not an enemy of the Government. I came with the party to see what was going on, not to plunder. I am lame, and does it look as if I was fit to commit a dacoity? I rode on horseback. I was not present when the conversation took place between Lakka Singh and Híra Singh, but I heard at the well where we were all collected at Bhaini, that he had promised to join us.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Commissioner.*

Examination of accused GYAN SINGH, son of Dalla Singh, Kuka, of Pholeri Patiála, accused No. 2. 16th Janua*r*y 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini on the 11th. Stayed there two nights. Thaman Singh my nephew went with me. About 10 or 12 Kukas worked themselves into a frenzy (*mastána*); a number joined them till there were about 100. They were shouting out that they would have an exchange for Gyani (who was hanged). Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were the leaders. I don't know the names of any others. On the second day the party left the village. I followed them with Thaman Singh and joined them at Pael. They asked me to come to Kotla with them,—that they would there get arms and horses. They said they would first loot Kotla, then Sungrúr, then Nábha, then Patiála. I joined them and came on to Rabbu. At Bhaini, Lakka Singh and Harnám Singh, Subhas, came and sat down with the *mastánas.* I heard Híra Singh say to them that they were going to take revenge for Gyani's death and would first go to Kotla for horses and arms. The Subhas said, "We will follow you; go on to Kotla." I came from Pael to Rabbu with the gang. Remained a night and day in Rabbu. Híra Singh bought food in the village out of his own pocket and gave to us. We remained at a well about 500 paces from the village. The people of Rabbu did not know for what purpose we were there. We all left Rabbu in the evening. There was only one talwár with Lehna Singh; some had gandásas and some axes and sticks. I had a stick only. At Rabbu I and Thaman Singh were going to our homes. Híra Singh asked us to come with him as far as Kotla. We were not told we were to loot Maloudh. We arrived at gate of Maloudh at dark. On the road I heard it counselled to come to Maloudh, as there were 40 horses and arms to be had here. I came inside with the others. It was arranged that all those with sticks were to go and guard the small gate. I went there with Thaman Singh, Attar Singh and another, whose name I don't know. A little after 10 or 12 men attacked us with sticks and bricks, and Attar Singh and my fourth companion were killed. I was wounded by a shot in the right arm, and Thaman Singh was wounded. I fell and was taken there. I don't know the names of any of the others of the gang. I make this confession voluntarily. At Bhaini Rám Singh came to us and said, "Oh, brothers, do not create a disturbance," and told us to go to our homes at once as we would not obey him.

The confession above made contains accurately the whole of accused's statement, and no influence, &c., was used to make the confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

No. II. Gyan Singh, son of Dalla Singh; caste, Kuka; residence Pholeri—Having pleaded guilty, the statement made by him before the Magistrate is read out and acknowledged to be correct. He adds—

I am a friend of the Sirkár; I served in the cavalry. I have done nothing wrong. I didn't know what was going to be done. When Lakka came to talk to the *mastánas,* Híra Singh said,—"We are go-

ing to Kotla and Jínd and Nábha and Patiála to revenge ourselves for the part they took in Gyani Singh's death. If you are a poor lot (*páji*), don't come; but if not, come with us." Lakka Singh said, "Go; I will come afterwards." Harnám Singh was there, but said nothing.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence; it was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Commissioner.*

Examination of accused, THAMAN SINGH, son of Albel Singh, Kuka, of Phuleri, accused No. 3.—16th January 1872.

I AM Gyán Singh's (accused No. 2) nephew. I went after him to Bhaini, and left after him on the 13th. I joined him and about 100 Kukas in Rabbu. I joined them. They said they were going to Kotla to get horses and arms. I don't know for what purpose they wanted horses and arms. My uncle did not tell me. We left Rabbu in the evening, and arrived at the village at time of lighting lamps. I had nothing in my hand. I did not come inside the village. I went and stood outside the Mori. I did not know the others were going to loot Maloudh. I thought they were passing through on their way to Kotla. I went alone outside. [Deponent will not explain why he separated himself from the others.] I was outside and heard noise and sounds of fighting and a number of men ran out of the village and attacked me. [Deponent has wounds on his left arm and head.] I fell down and was arrested at once. I make this confession voluntarily. I don't know the names of the two Kukas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole of the statement made by accused, and to the best of my belief no influence by means of any promise, threat or otherwise was used to make the above confession.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

No. III. Thaman Singh, son of Albel Singh, caste Kuka, having pleaded, his statement made before the Magistrate is read and acknowledged to be correct. And adds—I only went to the fair. I had no stick, no arms. I didn't know we were coming to plunder Maloudh. I am not a Kuka. I am a Jat.

The above was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct; it contains the whole of the statement made by him in my presence.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Commissioner.*

Examination of accused MEHR SINGH, son of Golaba, of Aláwalpúr, Jálandhar District. —16th January 1872.

I WENT to Bhaini for the Maghi, and stayed there one day. I saw Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, *mastánas*, with many other Kukas; but I don't know what they were doing. I did not see any Subhas with them. I did not see Rám Singh go to them and tell them not to create a disturbance. I left Bhaini alone, leaving all those *mastánas* at Bhaini. I came to *Rabbu*, intending to go to Hussainpur to visit a friend. The *mastánas* all arrived after me. Then says,—The *mastánas* arrived at Rabbu before me. I did not join them. They did not ask me to join them. I left Rabbu with them on the following evening. I did not know where they were going. I came to Maloudh with them. I went to a well outside town. I was alone. *Híra Singh* gave me food at Rabbu. After I had been a little while at the well outside the village, a number of men came and seized and beat me. I was arrested there.

(Sd.) L. COWAN, *Magistrate.*

No. IV. Mehr Singh, son of Golábá; caste, Kuka—Having pleaded not guilty, his statement made before the Magistrate is read over to him and acknowledged to be correct. (This prisoner is in great pain, and cannot move, his leg being broken.) He adds:—I came as far as the Shibdewála, just at the gate of the village. I was wounded by a *lathí* between the Shewála and the gate. After this I went to the well in Rúran, and was there apprehended next day.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence; it was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Commissioner.*

Opinion of Assessors.—In their opinion, after hearing the evidence for prosecution, the offence is fully proved against all the prisoners; they were all arrested on the spot, and are wounded: besides, they confessed their guilt.

The 19*th January* 1872.

The CROWN *versus* BHAGWAN SINGH, GYAN SINGH, THAMAN SINGH, *and* MEHR SINGH. *Dacoity with murder, Section* 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

THE history of this case is as follows:—At an assembly of Kukas at the Maghi fair in Bhaini, on the 11th and 12th January, it was decided by a party of Kukas who had worked themselves into a

state of frenzy and excitement, that Gyani Singh Subha's death must be avenged. Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakraudi, in the Patiála territory, were some of the leaders, if not the chief men, in this business. The Deputy Inspector, hearing of their excited state, went to Rám Singh, the Kuka Guru, and asked the intentions of these men. He gave no answer, merely saying they were *mastána*. Subsequently, Rám Singh having given the Deputy Inspector the names of 13 men *mastána*, went to them and begged the gang to go away to their homes and commit no row. They asked for food from him, and then went away. Two of the prisoners, now on their trial, say that Lakka Singh, Subha, came to the gang, when he was called on to join to avenge Gyani Singh's death, or he was a *páji ádmi*. Lakka Singh there promised to follow. This may have been said by him merely to get rid of them. They declared their intention of going to Kotla, Jínd, Nábha and Patiála to take revenge on these States because of the part taken by them in hunting down the perpetrators of the Raikot murder.

From enquiries made in the case disposed of at Kotla it appears that the attack was first directed against Kotla as being a weak and notoriously misgoverned State, that they might get arms and money with which to attack the other places.

A gang of about 100 Kukas left Bhaini on the 13th, and halted for the night at Rabbu; next day, as they passed towards Kotla, it was suddenly determined to attack Maloudh, where Sardárs Mit Singh and Baddan Singh live. The party of Kukas arrived at the gate just at dusk. They took possession of the gate, and, proceeding through the bazar, where they dropped sentries at cross streets so as to secure their retreat, made straight for Sardár Mit Singh's house. Entering the gateway, they found some stables on the left, and Búta, coachman. He was called on to give up his horses, and, on refusing, was immediately cut down and killed. Dhankal Singh, darwán, witness No. 2, had his hands tied behind him at the gate. Dasaunda, witness No. 4, saw his brother Búta murdered. The party then passed on to the house, and in one court-yard found the Sardár's Munshi, Nabi Baksh, and killed him. Kishna, Rajput, deposes to this fact. Opposite to this court-yard is Sardár Baddan Singh's house. A party of from 12 to 18 went in, seized his horses, and going up-stairs to his room, pretending to pay their respects, abused and attacked the Sardár, who with great gallantry turned on his assailants, and seized an axe, and laid about him right and left. The party then took flight, and were pursued down the bázár by the inhabitants, who attacked them with sticks, guns, bricks, &c. The men of the opposite village, Kheri, came to assist, and drove off the Kukas. In the fight six men of the Kuka party were wounded; two died, of the remaining four, two—Bhagwán Singh and Gyán Singh—were captured just outside the wall and brought in at once. Witnesses Sáhib Singh and Rám Singh depose to the capture of these men, and Sundar deposes to the apprehension of Thaman Singh just outside the village next morning. Nathua deposes to seizing Mehr in the village of Rori not a mile distant from Maloudh, next morning. All the rest escaped and

attacked Kotla, but all or nearly all were captured; and that case, having occurred in independent jurisdiction, has been disposed of by the Commissioner in his capacity of Agent.

There is not the slightest doubt as to the intentions or acts of the party to which these four prisoners belong, and I can see no reason for not recording the sentence in which all who are concerned in dacoity with murder are involved.

The assessors are unanimous in finding the parties guilty,—their statements, in fact, admit guilt.

For two reasons, however, I hesitate to put into execution the extreme penalty of the law. Severe examples have just been made at Maler Kotla, and there is room now for a display of clemency.

The second reason is that all the prisoners are more or less severely wounded. Two have broken limbs, and possibly the life of one is in danger. I therefore remit the sentence of death, and pass a sentence of transportation for life against all four prisoners.

(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH, *Commissioner and Sessions Judge.*

MALOUDH:
The 19*th January* 1872.

No. 76C., dated 14th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I AM desired to forward, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of the proceedings of the Commissioner of Ambálah in the trial of Kukas concerned in the recent outbreak.

No. 77 C., dated 14th February 1872.

From—C. M. RIVAZ, Esq., Offg. Under-Secy. to Govt., Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 50, dated the 3rd instant, forwarding the file of proceedings called for in my No. 48C., dated the 30th ultimo, and to observe that these papers do not show, nor does it appear that any letter or telegram received from you has stated, whether the sixteen men executed by your order at Kotla were hanged or blown away from guns. I am to request that you will furnish information on this point.

I am to add that, from the Police report, His Honor understands that these men were blown from guns.

No. 65, dated 15th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C. B., Commissioner, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN reply to his No. 77C., dated 14th instant, states that the men referred to were blown away from guns.

Patiála, 12th February 1872.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiála,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN reply to a telegram from you, I promised, in my letter dated 20th ultimo, to make enquiries as requested by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, and communicate to you, if possible, the real cause of the Kuka outbreak.

2. I therefore write, for His Honor's information, that from many proofs it is certain that Rám Singh's real motive and ambition was bent, upon religious pretext, to reign and acquire dominions, and he deceitfully implanted this capricious notion in the minds of his ignorant and superstitious followers, that their creed was to predominate and that everywhere the government of the country will be very soon in their own hands; and, as they had the fullest belief of this absurdity, he never failed to excite their minds and keep them in agitation and earnest desire to attain the object; and, as the numbers of his disciples (full of bigotry and blind zeal of their faith, cared little or nothing of their lives and property in securing the pleasure and satisfaction of their "Sat Guru" in furtherance of his motives) had now increased to enormity and vastness, he therefore had a sanguine hope of success, and excited them to view with the utmost hatred and horror the act of "cow-killing."

3. In exciting this prejudice his motive was (as under the religious pretext the "cartridge" prejudice subverted and put into commotion the whole of India in 1857), that by means of this ignitible match he may stir up and excite the feelings of the Hindu community (including the nobility, gentry and the troops) to sympathise and stand up in support of this common cause of hatred against the rulers of the country, anticipating a result from this confusion, that in every class and grade of the community he would be held with respect and awe, and thus establish a powerful sway over them of which he was long in earnest. Had not this appalling punishment been inflicted so promptly upon the insurgents as has been the case, and had not Rám Singh been instantly deported with his Subhas from his home, there was no hope of the disturbance being quelled so soon, and no doubt there would have been an endless waste of money and life before full tranquillity and confidence would have been restored.

4. Had the Kukas had even a meagre success in their attacks at Maloudh and Kotla, the whole sect would have sprung like fiends

from all sides, who were eagerly watching the result of these pantomimic attacks.

5. The above is a brief result of my enquiries in the matter, which have been recorded after careful observation.

6. There is one thing more, which, I think, should be brought to your notice. I have learnt from newspapers, &c., that the Government has expressed its disapprobation at the manner of the punishment awarded to the insurgents by the local authorities. I believe, in the native public idea, the object of Government will be misunderstood, and more particularly by the people of this benighted sect, who will, no doubt, attribute it to some supernatural power of their "Sat Guru." I am afraid this would in a great measure tend to frustrate and invalidate the active and efficient measures adopted by the British authorities and the Native Chiefs in the coercion and eradication of the evil, which had been so promptly and adequately nipped in the bud before bringing forth any blossoms of further evil, or would rather tend to render them less efficacious, and to make them look light and unimportant. I am of opinion that misconstruction of the intention of Government by the public is always fraught with unpleasant consequences, and I deem it right to inform you of the views I take on the subject.

Trusting that His Honor and yourself are in the perfect enjoyment of good health.

No. 78 C., dated 16th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I AM desired to forward the copy of a letter from His Highness the Máharája of Patiála, in reply to a telegram from me dated the 17th January.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor wishes me to direct particular attention to the third paragraph of this letter, the whole of which is deserving of careful consideration, from the fact of the writer being the most important Chief in the Punjab Proper, and the acknowledged head of the Sikhs. In the views expressed in the paragraph in question His Honor is disposed to concur.

Translation of a Vernacular letter dated 26th January 1872.

From—NARAIN SINGH, Extra Assistant Commissioner, stationed at Kotla,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I SUBMITTED a petition on 25th instant, in which I gave full details. It will have been perused.

You are aware that I always warned every officer I met at Simla, Ludiánah, Lahore, Amritsar or elsewhere against the Kukas, representing that the sect were determined to do mischief. They have since com-

mitted many outrages. They murdered certain butchers in Raikot, in the Ludiánah District, and at Amritsar, and one Chaukidar named Khamman, and wounded another Chaukidar at Marounda, in the Ambálah District. Munshi Jaishi Rám, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was killed by a Kuka at Lahore, and certain Kukas were the perpetrators of several other murders in the Hoshiárpur District. In one of these cases the murderers were Jowáhir Singh, Kishan Singh and Ganda Singh, who murdered a woman named Jindo, and one Mayya Singh, a native of Lahore. I succeeded with the greatest trouble in arresting, in 1865, one of the culprits, Jowáhir Singh, and recovered the property which had been robbed. This man was hung. The other two are still at large. There were other numerous cases in which the Kukas were concerned in the Amritsar and other districts.

If the Government had taken precautionary measures against the Kukas, the outrages recently perpetrated in Maloudh and Maler Kotla would perhaps not have occurred.

On the 5th of January 1872, the witnesses in the case of Rám Singh, the Mahant of the Kukas, himself, *viz.*, Dal Singh, Musammat Rám Kour, Ganda Singh, Mangal Singh and others, having been permitted to return to their homes, re-assured Rám Singh and his Subhas, who saw that they had not been punished by the Government in connection with the Raikot case, and were emboldened to commit mischief. They seized the occasion of the Lohri or Maghi festival, when on the 11th and 12th of January a large body of Kukas, including Subhas, were assembled at Bhaini, and in consultation with his Subhas, Rám Singh ordered a body of Kukas to attack Maloudh and Maler Kotla. The former place was accordingly attacked at night on the 14th, and the latter in the morning of the 15th of January. It would appear that the main object proposed by the attack on these places was the acquisition of arms, and the inference is evident that if they had succeeded in gaining their objects the Kukas would have done greater mischief. Indeed it is said by many that the Kukas had discussed an advance on Dehli, and the destruction of the Railway, and that their resolution has been checked for the present by the prompt punishment inflicted by the Government for the outrage committed by them on Maloudh and Maler Kotla. My former anticipations in regard to this sect, which I constantly communicated to the authorities, have been proved to have been well-founded. I now urge the Government to take effective measures to curb this sect; otherwise they will certainly break out again in Chait (or April) next, for every Kuka has been persuaded by Rám Singh and his Subhas to believe and is convinced that the rule of Rám Singh will be established in that month, and many persons of that sect have already sold or mortgaged their property in expectation of Rám Singh's triumph. There is the greatest unity and concord among the members of this sect. They are very numerous in the territories of the Native States of Patiála, Nábha, Jínd, Farídkot, Kotla, and Sangrúr, as well as the Ludiánah, Firozpur, Jálandhar, Hoshiárpur, Lahore, Amritsar, Síálkot, Gurdáspur, Gujránwála and Ambálah Districts, as well as in Hazro, in the Ráwalpindi District. Hazro was the place of

residence of Bálak Singh, the Guru of Rám Singh. Bálak Singh died a short time ago, but his relatives are still living there, and the Kuka sect has sprung from that place. In my opinion it is imperatively necessary to control this sect, otherwise there is fear of their becoming dangerous. If the Government should deem it proper, they should be watched strictly and constantly in the territories of the Native States and the British Districts. Should the Government depute me on the duty in portions of those territories, provided with a proper guard, I shall be able to control the sect; for I have been long occupied in making enquiries regarding them, both openly and secretly, and know them. The sect is extremely mischievous, and should be strictly watched.

It would be advisable to prohibit the Subhas from going on their tours, and the Kukas generally from assembling at large fairs. Sardár Mangal Singh, a relative of the Máharája of Patiála, who holds a jagir in the Patiála territory, and is a native of Bishanpura in that territory, is the Prime Minister of Rám Singh; he should also be well watched.

Translation of a Vernacular letter dated 27th January 1872.

From—NARAIN SINGH, Extra Assistant Commissioner, stationed at Kotla,

To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I SENT a petition yesterday.

I have learned to-day from Kázi Khoda Baksh, Superintendent of the estate of Ibrahim Ali Khán, and Inayat Ali Khán, that the following persons proceeded to Bhaini on the occasion of the Lohri fair, namely:—

Bhúp Singh, Gurmukh Singh } sons of Khazána, inhabitants of Mouza Parari, Kotla territory.
Musammat Karmo, wife of Gurmukh Singh (above).
Narain Singh, Sahiba and Karam Singh } young children.

Of these, Bhúp Singh and Gurmukh Singh having been arrested at Maler Kotla, were blown from guns. The woman with her three children returned to her village on the 26th instant. Kázi Khoda Baksh has submitted to you a report regarding the property of these men.

There is a rumour here that there has been an outbreak of the Kukas in the Siálkot District, and that a small body of Kukas are wandering in the neighbourhood of Bhadour, in the Patiála territory, but this is only a rumour.

The Názim released yesterday certain Kukas (one of them severely wounded), who were in confinement in the jail at Maler Kotla. This is reported for information. I found a Sergeant on duty asleep in the Kotwali at Kotla. He excused himself by saying that such a failure in duty was not much thought of at Kotla. I have warned him against a similar neglect of duty in future.

No. 78, dated 15th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

HEREWITH I forward in original (with translation) a communication just received from Extra-Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, dated Kotla, 13th February.

Translation of information sent by Extra-Assistant Commissioner NARAIN SINGH, dated Kotla, the 13th February 1872.

SARFARAZ KHAN, Deputy Inspector, Sanehwál, has privately informed me that a spy sent by him to Bhaini had come with the information that *Gopál Singh*, Subha, now at Bhaini, was consulting with *Budh Singh*, brother of Guru Rám Singh, to the effect that if some such outbreak as had already taken place were repeated now that Rám Singh had gone, it would clear him from suspicion of complicity in the former one. It would be asked who could have counselled the second attack now that Rám Singh is not here? In this way it will appear that the outbreak which occurred, when he was here, was made without his counsel.

The Deputy Inspector says he has sent information of this to Ludiánah.

Further, Karm Singh, zemindár of Kanganwál, who was sent privately to different villages, has returned and reported that in the villages of Dewa, Khanna, &c., where he has relatives and friends, he learned that most of the Kukas had removed their tight drawers (*kach parcha* worn by Sikhs), and had altered the form of their turbans, and outwardly had abandoned the Kuka faith. Some say that Rám Singh had disappeared, others that he had died voluntarily (*khud-ba-khud*) on the railway journey. Others say he is still at Allahabad, but will return. Eight days ago, when there was a red light in the sky, of which others make mention, regarding this appearance the Kukas say that at Kotla, where their brethren were blown away, there was a shower of rain like blood.

Dated Ambálah, the 17th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to forward translations of further evidence received from Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, Kotla, together with the originals, regarding the Kuka outbreak.

2. I have had these translations copied in my own room by an English gentleman, so as to carry out, so far as is practicable, the order contained in your No. 8-166, dated 7th February.

3. But I beg to point out that, as all papers passing through this office of an important political or strictly secret character (which definition includes every communication marked "confidential") requires to be copied in the office for use in case of future reference, a very heavy amount of manual labor will be thrown on me, which must interfere with other duties. There is no English Covenanted Assistant within four miles of my office, so that I am unable to avail myself of their services. My Head Clerk is perfectly trustworthy in every respect; and but for the stringent character of His Honor's instructions giving no discretion, I should have no hesitation in allowing him to continue, as he always has done, to copy all confidential papers with his own hand, and to keep all such papers under a separate lock and key.

SUKHU, Lambardár of Bhainí, on solemn affirmation, states :—

THE Lohri fair was on Thursday, and the Maghi was on Friday. A week before the Lohri fair Rám Singh told the Kukas to come to Bhainí. On that day there were about 1,000 Kukas, natives of surrounding districts, and of Patiála, Nábha, Kotla, Farídkot, &c. There were 22 Subhas. On the day of Lohri and Maghi a great meeting (diwán) was held in Rám Singh's house. 22 Granths were recited. There were fire offerings and distribution of sweetmeats. The Kukas were fed by Rám Singh. The *mastána* Kukas were, under orders of Rám Singh, put up at the Akál Bungah well, built by Rám Singh, and 200 paces from his house. I used to go every day to the *diwán* and see the Kukas.

The *mastánas* often said they were to rule the country. First Nábha, Jínd, Patiála and Fírozpúr would be taken, and then the throne of Dehli. The Kukas of the Mánjha were to take Lahore. I have heard with my own ears Rám Singh telling the Kukas that he should surely reign, and that he would assist them. Rám Singh moreover read out to them a book, and said, "See, there are the Guru's words that you shall reign."

On the Saturday the Kukas were dismissed to their homes. A gang numbering 100 proceeded in the morning towards Kotla, and at 2 in the day 200 Kukas (*mastánas*), after seeing Rám Singh, went towards Maloudh and Kotla through Rámpur and Laton. They left in a very joyful mood. I followed them as far as Laton, being ordered by the Deputy Inspector to do so. The chaukidárs followed them further. They had axes in their hands, and said they intended to take Kotla, Nábha, &c.

The *mastánas*, when leaving, asked Lakka Singh, Subha, and Harnám Singh, Subha, brother to Gyani Singh (hanged) to go with them. They said they would follow, but never went.

On Sunday 100 more Kukas left Bhaini, and went in the same direction. Afterwards on Monday morning a Kuka came from Maloudh, and told Rám Singh that, after attacking Maloudh, the Kukas had gone to Kotla. Rám Singh said well done, (*acha hua*). The Kuka was fed and given one seer of gur, and dismissed. I was present when the above took place. The 100 *mastánas*, when starting towards Kotla, had set on fire

their razais. Before their departure Rám Singh came once, and just for a show put his cloth round his neck and asked the *mastánas* to leave Bhaini and preserve his honor. In my opinion Rám Singh did this to free himself from responsibility. The Kukas will not do anything without the order of Rám Singh, and this gang was called on the spot by all the Kukas in consultation. In time of need they would have given any assistance; for instance, the two gangs which left Bhaini afterwards were for the assistance of the first gang. They afterwards scattered, and none returned to Bhaini. Rám Singh went to Maloudh under orders of the Deputy Commissioner, &c., &c.

DOWLAT, Lambardár of Bhaini, states—

ON the day of the Lohri and the Maghi fairs about 1,000 Kukas gathered at Bhaini. They were natives of surrounding districts. They commenced coming to Bhaini a week before the fair. They were called by Rám Singh. Lohri fair has never before been at Bhaini. Last year, at the death of Mussammat Jassan, Rám Singh's wife, Kukas gathered at Bhaini. About the Lohri time Rám Singh has been out among his disciples. Sometimes he went out in Mungsur, sometimes at other times. 20 or 22 Subhas were present. *Diwán* was held and *halwá* distributed, also fire offerings made. Kukas were fed at Rám Singh's kitchen. They talked of ruling the country and proposed attacking Kotla, &c. The *mastána* Kukas were at the *Akál Bungah well*, being ordered by Rám Singh to remain there. They made a great noise. In the morning (*i. e.* Saturday) Kukas left Bhaini for their homes. 100 started towards Maloudh, and at 2 in the day 200 more (*mastánas*) left Bhaini and went towards Rámpúr, and they proposed to attack Maloudh and Kotla. They shouted "Come Khálsaji, let us attack Kotla" (*Chalo Khálsaji, Kotla ko máro*). They were armed with axes.

I, Bhagwána, and Sukhu, Lambardár, followed them as far as Laton, being told by the Deputy Inspector to watch their movements. The Kukas went on to Rámpúr. Bhagwána followed them, and we returned. Next day (Sunday) 100 more Kukas left Bhaini and went towards the same direction as the two first gangs; cannot say whether they joined others or not. I, Sukhu Lambardár, and Bhagwána chaukidár, went to the 200 *mastánas* previous to their leaving Bhaini, being told by the Deputy Inspector to discover their intentions. These *mastána* made a great uproar, and said, "Sat Guru Rám Singh is King with long arms, and no one else." They abused us; and we returned. I have heard that Rám Singh told them to leave Bhaini after taking their food, and preserve his honor, but this was not said in my presence. I have also heard that a Kuka from Maloudh came to Rám Singh with information of the attack at Maloudh. Subsequently no Kukas came to Bhaini. This gang shouted that "whoever wishes to die may accompany them." They then left Bhaini for Kotla. They were not joined by any one at Bhaini. I know Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai, and none else. The Kukas of Bhaini made no mention to me about this affair. Before the Kotla attack I often heard *mastána* Kukas say that they shall rule the country. The Kukas, when gathering at Bhaini, asked Rám Singh's permission to attack any place he ordered. Rám Singh used to tell them,

wait for a short time. Whenever they gathered together they talked of ruling the country.

KARM SINGH, Zamindár of Kanganwál, Kotla, states :—

I WENT to Sibian Singhwala, Nábha territory, to mourn the death of Kánh Singh, my cousin.

Bhúpa (barber), Karm Singh and some women were with me. They stayed that night at Búta Singh's, in Sibian Singwala. In the morning we saw Kukas going to Bhaini on the Lohri festival. My companions with the women returned home. I went to Bhaini and put up with a Brahmin. It was the Lohri day. Next day there was a Kuka meeting (*diwán*). I did not go to the place, but saw Kukas singing here and there like *mastánas*. The day following Maghi at 4 o'clock, I went to the *diwán*, when 25 books of the Granth Sahibs were read out in Rám Singh's house. Found Rám Singh there. There were in all 1,000 men and about 500 women in the house. A great many Kukas were on the roofs of houses. Many spectators were standing outside, and no access to the *diwán*. Fire offerings were going on, and afterwards *halwa* was distributed, and then people got food from the(?); night came on. I left the place and *diwán* was also over. At 1 A. M. the same night all the Kukas bathed in the Rámsar tank built by Rám Singh. I also washed. At 2 A. M. *diwán* was held, and lasted till 6 A. M., when Rám Singh told the people to go home. Many left then and there, and some made preparations to start. 200 Kukas, who were called *mastánas*, remained at the well called Akál Bungah. I also proceeded there to see the sight. This well is 200 paces to the west of Rám Singh's house. These were planning; some said the railroad should be first cut off, because if they attacked any place troops will come at once by rail; some said attack should be first made on Lahore; some said first Maloudh, because the Sardár had given his opinion that Kukas should be hung; then Kotla, Nábha and Patiála, thence to Dehli, where the Gújars should be got to fight with the British, they shall destroy each other and we shall get the throne of Dehli. If we die, still it is good; we shall die for religion. These *mastánas* then came to Rám Singh and went into the house and I remained outside on my horse. I do not know what passed there, but when they came out they said, "Bhai Rám Singh says '*Do bhajan*,' at present no orders are given;" but they said they shall die for religion. They were about 200 men. All lifted up their arms and said, "Whoever wishes to die may come with us." They then proceeded towards Rámpúr, jumping. I went to Kutani, but I heard their shouts, "Sat Sri Akál." I was present at the *diwán*. Bhai Rám Singh said nothing at that time. I went home *viâ* Kutani, and there heard that Kotla had been attacked. When these *mastánas* left Bhaini they had no arms or gandásas, but each had an axe. In my opinion they got gandásas, &c., afterwards from Maloudh, &c.

SHER KHAN, Sowar of Khan Sahib, states :—

A WEEK before the attack on Kotla, I went to Pharwai to realize Rs. 73 revenue from Gurmukh Singh, Kuka Lambardár of that village

He intended to sell off his lands and property, and the Khan Sahib was therefore anxious to recover the land revenue from him. I brought him to Kotla. On the road I asked him the reason of his disposing of the property, &c. He said they (Kukas) were about to rule the country, and that it was good to give away property, &c., in the name of God. The revenue was realized from him. On 15th January 1872 Kotla was attacked. Kázi Khuda Baksh and Mírán Baksh, Rasáldár, pursued Kukas. I accompanied them. We overtook them at Rúr. They were about 100, and had swords, gandásas, axes and clubs. Four were on horseback. Kukas there said, "We had plundered no property; they (Kotla people) had better return, and we shall proceed onwards." The Kukas then went on, and I went to Kotla to fetch a gun. The gun was sent off, and I joined the sowárs. The Kukas went into Rúr. I did not afterwards see the Kukas. At Panjbín, of the Kukas, I recognised Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai, and none else. Gurmukh Singh was blown from a gun on the 17th January 1872. Gurmukh Singh was asked if he said Kukas were to rule the country. He said, "A spark of fire has been thrown into Kotla. There shall be a great fire, so that even one man shall not be left for three women." Rasáldár then separated us and I heard no more from him.

Bhup Singh, *of Rúr, Patiála Territory, on solemn affirmation, states* :—

About a watch and a half after sunrise the gang of Kukas who attacked Kotla came to my village the same day. They were 70 or 80 altogether. Gurdat Singh, Híra Singh, Bishan Singh, Karian Singh, Sundar Singh and Harnám Singh were natives of my village. Six of the gang went to the house of Híra Singh, Kuka, and the rest stayed at the Pípalwála well belonging to deponent. They had swords, gandásas and axes covered with blood. Híra Singh came to my house: he had a naked sword in his hand which was stained with blood. He told me "the words of Sat Guru had come to pass" (*Sat Guru ka bháína ho gaya*). "I have often told you," continued he, "to become a Kuka and fight for religion (*Jihád*), otherwise you would suffer. Give us help." I told him I had not time; he had better go to his house. Híra Singh was wounded at the time, and he, hearing the above reply, went to his house. All the villagers through fear abandoned their houses and went out of the village. I immediately sent Jaimal Singh, my nephew, on horseback to Sherpúr to give information to the Nazim. I remained at my house. After two hours, Niáz Ali with Jaimal Singh and another sowár, &c., came to the village. I went to him. He attended to the wounded, comforted them, and taking all the Kukas prisoners, conveyed them to Sherpúr in carts, &c. Jowáhir Singh and Bhola Singh disappeared from the village, and are still at large. I have known the following—Híra Singh, Lehna Singh of Sakraudi, Gurmukh Singh and Malúk Singh of Pharwai, and no others. The gang came to our village from Kotla. I did not ask them through fear as to where they were going. Assailant Kukas made no mention in respect of any Kukas of my village, and Gurmukh Singh, of Pharwai, often persuaded me to become a Kuka (*Sat Guru ka bháína ho jawega*), and further said as a sabad, "Ram Singh is my king of kings, he is to uproot all the kings." No other gang passed through my village.

HAKUMAT, Lambardár of Rabbu, on solemn affirmation, states:—

ON the preceding night of the day that Kotla and Maloudh were attacked, 90 Kukas came from Bhaini and stopped at the well belonging to Sahib Singh and Lehna Singh. They borrowed vessels to cook food from Lehna Singh and Narain Singh, Sád. They came at the last watch of the night. The following persons of our village found them:—

1.—Dya Singh.	7.—Dya Singh, Rámdásia.
2.—Suján Singh.	8.—Shaka Singh.
3.—Bela Singh.	9.—Attar Singh.
4.—Sobha Singh.	10.—Sahib Singh.
5.—Sarmukh.	11.—Wazír Singh.
6.—Sedbha Singh.	12.—Khazán Singh.

The gang said they would first go to Kotla, thence to Rúr and Sakraudi "Khalsa has appeared, the country will be ruled by them"; they heard this from Sat Guru. They left our village three gharis before sun-set for Dukal. They had gandásas, axes and clubs. On being asked they said, "We are going at our pleasure to Kotla." I only recognise the Kukas of my village and none else. No other gang passed through their village.

The Kukas of my village said that "*bháína* (*i.e.*, the words) of the Guru shall come to pass" in a short time. Five Kukas of their village are still at large; six have been blown from guns. There were 20 Kukas in this village. We reported the arrival of these Kukas at Police office through chaukidar. Next morning we heard that Maloudh and Kotla had been attacked.

LEHNA SINGH, Kuka of Rubbon, on solemn affirmation, states:—

THE night preceding the day of attack on Maloudh and Kotla, about 100 Kukas came from Bhaini and stopped at my well some 600 or 700 paces off the village. The well also belongs to Thutta and Sahib Singh. They had axes, gandásas and clubs; three had ponies. I have been a Kuka for the last six years. Rám Singh gave me the "nám." The Kukas had átta, ghí and sugar with them. They got vessels from Narain Singh and myself and took their meals. They remained at the well the whole day. I recognize 12 persons of my village who joined the gang (named by Hakúmat); of these 12, Sahib Singh, Wazír Singh, and Khazán Singh were working their well. Kukas said they would first go to Kotla and then to Rúr. They said the Khálsa shall reign; it has appeared. I also recognized Híra Singh, Lehna Singh of Sakraudi, Mogha Singh of Mahraj, Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai, and Sohal Singh of Lehra. They stopped at my well because they knew me and I was a Kuka. At three gharis before sun-set they left. Of the 12 who joined from my village Sahib Singh returned. I was asked to go with them, but said I was old and infirm. Next day I heard that Kukas had made disturbances at Kotla and Maloudh. Six have been blown from guns, and five are still at large. No other gang passed this village. The Kukas told me as well as other Kukas of my village that they have got the ráj of the country. Before the above occurrences heard nothing from Kukas. They may have planned affairs at Bhaini.

JANI, Lambardár of Bhodon, on solemn affirmation, states :—

ON the day of attack, at one watch after sun rise, saw about 100 Kukas passing along their village. Kotla men were pursuing them. The Kukas had naked swords, gandásas and axes in their hands. They loudly said that the Khálsa rule had appeared (*Khálsa pargat ho gya*). "There is little disturbance now at Kotla, but there will be still a greater disturbance. Sat Guru shall sit on the throne of Dehli, and the Khálsa shall spread ; the Khálsa shall rule the country." I went with the Kotla men to Rúr, and returned with them. It was rumoured that Kukas who had gathered at Lugabun and Rabbu would make another attack. The gang came from Kotla. I recognised Gurmukh Singh, Kuka of Pharwai. I did not speak to the Kukas. There is no Kuka in this village. Before the occurrence Gurmukh Singh persuaded me to become Kuka, saying Jágírdárs, &c., have become Kukas. No other gang passed through my village.

ATTAR SINGH, Lambardár of Rúr, on solemn affirmation, states :—

ON the day of attack at Kotla at noon, Kukas came to my village. I saw Híra Singh of my village covered with wounds. Sent Jamál Singh to the Thana on horseback. The Nazim ultimately came on the spot, and having apprehended all the Kukas, took them to the Sherpúr Thana. I have known 6 of my village (named by Jamál Singh) and Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai (engaged in this outbreak).

The Kukas then said that if they were killed it was no matter ; the words of the Guru must come to pass. There are seven lacs of Kukas. They had bloody swords, axes and gandásas. They made no mention of their further intentions. Before the occurrence the Kukas in this village said that when the words of Guru have been fulfilled (*saf lipat jáwegi*) the carpet (*saf*) would be wrapt up, *viz.*, the present Government shall not exist, and Sat Guru Rám Singh shall reign.

SAHIBA, Zemindár of Rabbu, states :—

BEFORE the attack at Maloudh some 90 Kukas came from Bhaini and stopped at his well. It was at the dead of night. They had axes, gandásas and clubs. They remained there the whole day. Got vessels from Lehna Singh, Kuka, and Narain Singh, Sádh, and prepared food. Dharam Singh, Khazán Singh, &c., (12 in number) joined them. They said, "*Guru ka bháńna ho gaya, Khálsa paida ho gaya,*" they shall rule the country. They said we would go to Kotla and thence to Rúr, and at three gharis before sunset they left for Kotla. They stopped at my well because they knew Lehna Singh of my village. Next day a watch after sunrise we heard of the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla. I recognise the Kukas of my village who were among them. I did not speak to them through fear, but the Kukas of my village said, " Sat Guru had given orders, therefore we shall also accompany the band to Kotla." Before the occurrence Kukas said that at the Lohri there shall be a large gathering.

NATHU states :—

ON the day of attack I also came to the fort. There were about 80 Kukas. They were armed some with swords, others with axes, gandásas and clubs. They were followed by Kotla men. I also went after them. At the well of Nawab an assault was made upon them. At (?) Kukas turned round, and told the Kotla men not to follow them, as they were going to Dehli. A mounted Kuka came to me, and I fired at him. His horse was shot dead. He was taken along by other Kukas. The Kotla men did not stand there, but retired as soon as Kukas turned round. I pursued them to the confines of Rúr and then returned. These Kukas were not joined by others, but it was rumoured abroad that there was to be another attack.

GULAB SINGH, Lambardár of Rúr, states :—

ON the day of attack at Kotla, came to Kotla to purchase a buffalo from Rasáldár of Nawab Sahib. At Bansi's shop I saw 80 Kukas going out of the town. They were armed with swords, gandásas axes and clubs. They loudly said, "We have commenced (*mahurat karna*), and shall bring the Guru with us the next time, when each brick of Kotla shall be separated." I went to my village. No gang of Kukas passed through this village subsequently. Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai was going in advance of the rest, and I recognized him. I did not ask any questions.

SURMAST KHAN states :—

ON the 14th January information was received at Kotla of there being an attack upon Kotla. Sowars went on rounds the whole of that night. In the morning they went to their homes. On the 15th of January about 100 Kukas entered the city by the demolished portion of the wall near Sawan Tower; went straight to the fort; killed some servants of the State; some Kukas were also killed; they carried away some swords. I saw the Kukas going out, but I had no orders. However, I, Najíb Khan, Fateh Muhammad Khan, &c., pursued the Kukas. They went out by the road near the well at Narwal towards Secandarpúr. Four of the Kukas were on horseback. They had gandásas, axes and swords with them. They were pursued by Nawab's servants, but whenever Kukas turned round, the Nawab's men retired. A koss from Kotla, Bákar Ali and Nathu of Kotla fired twice at the Kukas. Nathu shot a horse of the Kukas. They said, "We are going to Nábha and then to Patiála, whence we shall go to Dehli, where we shall set up a banner; you (Kotla men) may come there and have a fight." When Kukas reached the confines of Rúr, Nawab's men retired. Kukas went onwards; [again said] Kukas remained at that village. At last the Patiála officials apprehended them. The Kukas were pursued and assaulted in three places,—Naiwala well, Panjberi and the confines of village Podan. I was present all through, but was not told to make an attack. I was Nawab's Rasáldár, and deputed at Ambálah Commissioner's office. I have been without employment for the last year. It was talked abroad that another gang from Rámpúr was to make another attack. I do not recognize any one.

No. 89 C., dated 20th February 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 78 C., dated 15th current, I am desired to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copies of further evidence received, through the Commissioner of Ambálah, from the Extra Assistant Commissioner at Kotla, regarding the Kuka outbreak.

Patiála, the 20th January 1872.

From—His Highness Mohindar Singh, Máharája of Patiála
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Having obtained my leave from His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and yourself, I arrived at the Ambálah Cantonment Railway Station, where I met with C. Beadon, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, who was waiting there for me, and who handed over to me your telegram about the disturbance caused at Kotla by the fanatic Kukas. On arriving at Rájpurah, I received a letter by the hand of the son of Ali Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar to the address of my Under-Secretary, Syad Muhammad Kázim, from the Judge, Small Cause Court, Ludiánah, who delivered a verbal message to the effect that some troops should be sent to Kotla for the assistance of L. Cowan, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

You have been apprized from time to time of the arrangements made in this case, among which I thought it also necessary to put under arrest Mangal Singh of Raipúr (who is one of my relatives also and a very devoted disciple of Rám Singh, the leader of the sect of Kukas,) with his brother, and a few other men, his servants, who all profess the Kuka creed. As he was here at the time, I sent him in custody into the Bahadurgarh Fort.

Should you deem it right, I think it advisable that the Government, taking him over into its own custody, may send him, along with other Subhas, to some proper place out of the Punjab limits.

I have the pleasure to annex herewith, for your information, a vernacular memorandum of my orders issued from my Wizárat Office to all the Judicial authorities to crush the existence of any irregularity connected with the outbreak, and, as suggested by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, I shall endeavor my utmost to find out the real cause of this disturbance.

Trusting you will assist me, and oblige with your necessary advice in the matter.

Translation of Memorandum by His Highness the Máharája of Patiála, dated 19th January 1872.

Be it known that 68 of the insurgents of the Kuka sect who attacked the towns of Maloudh, in the Ludiánah District, and Kotla of Afgháns, on the 14th of January 1872, were apprehended through the energy of Syad Niáz Ali, Naib Názim of Amargarh, and were blown

from the cannon mouth at Kotla, by order of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah. It is believed that all those who took part in the outbreak have now been punished; but for an advisable and necessary precaution, all those subjects of the State who went to Bhaini to Rám Singh, the leader of the above-mentioned sect, on the occasion of the Lohri festival, previous to the recent outbreak, must be arrested and confined till such time as they prove to the satisfaction of the Court that they did not participate in the disturbance. Arrangements must also be made that the members of this sect may not be allowed to assemble in an unlawful manner anywhere. Therefore, to act in accordance with the intention of the Hazúr (the Máharája), Sardár Deva Singh, Chief Judge, be addressed to issue orders to the Nazims of the districts to arrest all Kukás in the State who went to see Rám Singh, leader of the sect, on the occasion of the festival at Bhaini, and keep them in confinement till they satisfy the Court of their non-participation in the disturbance; and in such villages in which the Kukas reside they be placed in the custody of the lambardárs till further orders, with distinct injunctions that the lambardárs will be held answerable if they are allowed to leave their villages; and the Police be strictly directed not to allow the Kukas to assemble in any place, and if they find them in company, they should at once arrest them, and forward them to the Court to be punished according to law. But care must be taken that the people of the sect be not subjected to unwarranted oppression; it is not the intention of the Sarkar (Patiála State) to subject them to any undue oppression if they live in good conduct, but the intention only is this that they may not be allowed to disturb the peace or safety of the people. So all the *faujdari* (civil) officers should understand the spirit of this order, and act accordingly. The Názims be also ordered to confiscate property of every description to be found in the State, belonging to those who attacked Maloudh and Kotla; and explain the contents of the above (manshá or intention) resolution of the Sarkár, to the people of the Kuka sect, through the Náib Nazims and Thánadárs, and, if they consider it advisable, to do this themselves. The men, who among this sect, are called *Subhas*, and have any kind of influence over the followers of the sect, should also be arrested for the present. A copy of this memorandum be sent to the Munshí Khána for the information of Political Officers, and another to the Office of the *Patiála Akhbar* for publication in the newspaper.

No. 84 C., dated 17th February 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I am directed to inform you that the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor has requested His Highness the Máharája of Patiála to make over to your charge Mangal Singh, ordinarily known as Sardár Mangal Singh, of Raipúr, a noted Kuka leader. On receiving charge of him from the Máharája you should despatch him under a sufficient guard to Allahabad, where he will be confined in the fort, pending the orders of the Government of India as to his ultimate disposal. You are requested to inform the Allahabad authorities of the time and date of Mangal Singh's arrival.

No. 85 B., dated 17th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.

I AM desired to intimate the despatch to Allahabàd, for confinement in the fort, pending the further orders of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, of Sardár Mangal Singh of Raipur, a noted Kuka leader, and a relative of His Highness the Máharája of Patiála, who has made him over for safe custody to the British Government, and am to request that you will move the Honorable the Liuetenant-Governor to issue orders for his reception in the fort at Allahabad.

Dated Camp, 17th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—His Highness the Máharája of Patiála.

IN my reply to your letter of the 20th of January, in which you stated your desire that the Punjab Government should take charge of and send out of the province Mangal Singh of Raipur, a noted Kuka, and now in custody in your Highness' fort of Bahádurgarh, I informed you that the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor generally agreed in your views, and that I would address you again on the subject.

The Lieutenant-Governor, having given further consideration to the matter, entirely agrees with your Highness that the deportation of a Kuka so zealous and influential as Mangal Singh is most desirable, and, on the said Mangal Singh being made over to the Commissioner of the Ambálah Division, he will be at once sent to Allahabad, and such other place of confinement in the future as may be determined hereafter.

No. 92 C., dated 22nd February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of my letters No. 9 C. and 15 C., of the 16th and 17th January last, I am directed to report the removal to Allahabad, for greater security, of Sirdár Mangal Singh of Raipúr, in Patiála territory.

2. This person is a Kuka leader of consequence, one of the most influential of Rám Singh's followers, and is connected with His Highness the Máharája of Patiála, who arrested him immediately after the Maler Kotla outbreak and confined him in the fort of Bahadurgarh. The Máharája, desiring to be free from the responsibility of guarding this prisoner, whose removal from the country he considered expedient, transferred him to the Punjab Government, and the Commissioner of Ambálah, to whom he was made over, has been directed to forward the prisoner to Allahabad, the Government of the North-Western Provinces having at the same time been informed of the matter. I am to request the issue of a warrant for his detention under Regulation III. of 1818.

No. 376, dated Fort William, the 28th February 1872.

From—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I. Secretary to Govt. of India, Home Department,

To—The Magistrate of Allahabad.

I AM directed to enclose a warrant of custody, issued under Regulation III. of 1818, against Sardár Mangal Singh of Raipúr, who has been sent by the Government of the Punjab to Allahabad.

No. 377.

COPY forwarded to the Government of the Punjab, for information, with reference to its Officiating Secretary's letter No. 92 C., dated 22nd instant.

No. 93C., dated 22nd February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

WITH my letters No. 9 C. and 15 C., dated the 16th and 17th January last, I communicated the intended arrest of Rám Singh, the Kuka leader, and of his principal and most influential Subhas, and requested the issue of warrants under Regulation III. of 1818 for their detention. The whole of the men mentioned in my letters were arrested and dispatched to Allahabad, where they are now confined. Of the action taken by the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor His Excellency the late Viceroy and Governor-General in Council was pleased to express his entire approval.

2. Since that time it has been necessary to deport one other Kuka leader, Sardár Mangal Singh of Raipúr, made over to the Government by the Máharája of Patiála, who was desirous of his removal from the Punjab.

3. I am now directed to express the carefully considered opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor that Rám Singh and all his Subhas, now at Allahábad and referred to in the preceding paragraphs, be removed from India to Rangoon, or to such other place, out of British India, which may appear to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General appropriate. Allahabad, itself on the main line of communication, and a noted place of Hindú pilgrimage, is open to many objections.

4. Paragraph 12 of your letter No. 289, dated 8th instant, desired an expression of His Honor's opinion as to whether there were any substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kukas, and whether he considered that any special measures were necessary for the prevention of such a rebellion and for the maintenance of peace.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor observes that the papers which have been submitted to the Government of India show that whatever the original tendency of the Kuka doctrines may have been, they have now become of a political character, the designs of the leaders, more or less understood by their followers, being to attempt a restoration of the Sikh power in the Punjab. The evidence which proves this is not all of such a nature as to be placed on formal record, although the Lieutenant-Governor believes that sufficient has been already

submitted to convince the Government of India of its correctness. There is, in addition to the unanimous belief among loyal and intelligent Natives that the Kuka movement is one which the Government cannot afford to treat with indifference, the conduct and bearing of the Kukas themselves and the prophecies current among them of the near approach of the time when the English will be expelled the country and the followers of Guru Rám Singh receive lands and honors.

6. The Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor, while under no apprehension of any rising which could not be promptly suppressed, is yet most strongly of opinion that the sentiment of which the Kuka creed is the outward sign and expression is one which should be if possible eradicated. The real danger of that creed, in the form which it has now assumed, consists in this, that it appeals strongly to the sympathies of a large section of the native community outside the circle of avowed Kukas. The denunciation of kine-killing and even the active measures taken against butchers at Raikot and Amritsar, have enlisted to a certain extent the sympathy of even well-disposed Hindus; while the predictions of a restoration of the Khálsa appeal to the sympathies of all Sikhs who have not forgotten the traditions of the past. There is evidence, no doubt, to show that no general coalition exists at present between the orthodox Sikhs and the Kukas; but there is also evidence to show that the hostile feeling between the sects is less strong than formerly, in the recent large accession to the numbers of the Kukas from the ranks of the Sikhs, and in the fact that, while a few years ago no men of good family and position had joined the new creed, there is now a considerable number of petty Sardárs and men of family among its avowed adherents.

7. There is no evidence, further, to show with what precise intention or with what success Kuka emigrants have visited distant parts of India or States on its northern border; but it may be safely presumed that the intention was political and not religious, from the open assertions of the Kukas that they expect aid from Nipál and Kashmír, that the troops of the Cis-Satlej States would join them in the event of a rising, and that the ranks of the British army contain numerous members of their creed.

8. The wild boasts and predictions of uneducated and fanatical men should not, the Lieutenant-Governor observes, be accepted as true or have assigned to them a value which they do not possess; but no indication of popular feeling can with safety be neglected by the Government; and the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that the removal of the Kuka leaders from Hindustán is necessary in the interests of general tranquillity. So long as Rám Singh and his lieutenants remain in the country, so long will his followers predict and expect his speedy return, and will continue to intrigue against the Government, remaining a constant source of anxiety. With his absolute removal from India, the restless and excited feeling now in existence in the Punjab may reasonably be expected to decline and in time to disappear. The Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor has only made the recommendation of the present letter after much deliberation, after having passed through much of the country lately the scene of disturbance, and after communication with all those, Native and European, most likely to form

an unprejudiced, calm and intelligent opinion on the state of affairs. His Highness the Máharája of Patiála, whose loyalty and good spirit are well known to the Government of India, is very strongly of the same opinion as the Lieutenant-Governor.

9. His Honor trusts that the recommendation here made may receive the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-Governor in Council, and that the removal of the Kuka leaders from India at an early date may be ordered. The Lieutenant-Governor further considers that, wherever located, they should be confined separately, and not permitted to communicate with each other.

No. 83, dated 19th February 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B., Offg. Commissioner, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Forwards two statements, of Sundar, Brahmin, and Sukhu, Lambardár, received from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah.

Statement of Sundar, Brahmin, taken on solemn affirmation, the 10th February 1872.

I live in Maloudh. Went away on business, and was returning seven days ago in the evening. Close to Maloudh I overtook a bullock-cart. A man was lying on a charpoy in it covered with a sheet as if asleep. A young woman sat on the charpoy. A Kuka on horseback rode beside the cart. As I came close the man on the charpoy threw off his cloth and sat up. The woman pointed out to him the village of Maloudh. The man called out in a loud voice "*Sat Siria Akál! Sat Siria Akál!* It is here that the blood of the disciples of the true Guru was shed. A great revenge will be taken." He stretched out his hands towards the village as he spoke, and repeated several times, "A revenge (*badli*) will be taken." The young woman saw me, and laid her hand on his arm, and he ceased speaking and turned round and scowled on me. I was frightened and hurried past. I told Sardár Mith Singh of this the next day.

Taken before me,
(Sd.) L. Cowan, *Offg. Deputy Commissioner.*

Statement of Sukhu, Lambardár of Bhaini, forwarded by Major Parsons, Deputy Commissioner ; the 12th February 1872.

Six days ago, about 4 o'clock in the evening, Gopál Singh, Lehna Singh and Budha Singh, brother of Rám Singh, Kukas, standing by a wall, were in conversation, to the effect that if the Kukas in the Firozpur District and Dhurp make a disturbance, Sat Guru (Rám Singh) will turn out true, and Government will consider that the late disturbance took place without the influence of Rám Singh being exercised. They also expect that if Rám Singh be released in course of time he will get the dominion.

Informant, under pretence of being a Kuka, heard above conversation, remaining with the above persons, he having a Kuka necklace

and lower dress. Had enmity with Rám Singh prior to Sambat 1920 on account of a house, and in 1920 on account of reporting him to Government. Afterwards informant joined him as his Sikh. There is no enmity between them since. Informant makes this report on account of being a lambardár and Government well-wisher. Has made reports before. The above parties have not yet made any arrangements for a fresh disturbance, but, having evil designs, might do so.

No. 98 C., dated 24th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I HAVE to acknowledge your letter No. 83, dated 19th February.

The Lieutenant-Governor considers that depositions of sufficient importance to be sent to Government should not be delayed so long as was the case with those that accompanied your letter above mentioned.

Dated Ludianáh, 24th February 1872.

From—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to forward a report just received from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, of the discovery of nine sword blades in a well in the immediate vicinity of Bhaini, &c.

No. 100 C., dated 24th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I AM desired to acknowledge your letter of the 24th February, and to state that the Lieutenant-Governor quite approves of the measures taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah in lowering the walls of the village of Bhaini.

No. 101 C., dated 24th February 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I AM desired to forward, for information, copy of a note of the 19th February, from Major J. Parsons, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, reporting result of his inspection of the village of Bhaini on that date.

Memo. by Major J. PARSONS, Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, dated Camp Sániwál, 19th February 1872.

REPORTS the finding of nine talwár blades in a well in the immediate vicinity of the village of Bhaini.

The village was inspected by undersigned this morning. The large walled enclosure of Rám Singh, being of most unnecessary height and evidently only intended for harbouring bad characters in the event of any disturbances requiring it to be used, the undersigned is having the north face lowered to a suitable height sufficient for security of domestic property.

Dated Ludiánah, 17th February 1872.

From—L. COWAN, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—T. D. FORSYTH, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Supt., Ambálah Division.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of letter of the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, No. 73 C., dated 13th February 1872, with enclosure from the Secretary to Government of India, No. 289, dated 8th idem, forwarded to me with your endorsement of the 13th instant.

2. I regret extremely that the language used by me in my letters to your address has not fully conveyed the grounds for the apprehensions entertained by me that a serious outbreak was contemplated by the Kukas, and the urgent necessity which existed for summarily punishing the insurgents. Those letters were written amid press of other duties, when I was subject to constant interruptions. I do not now wish to retract anything I have written, but I would ask permission to alter two statements. I was wrong in saying that the outbreak was a "*miserable*" attempt at rebellion. It was a bold and daring attempt, and when I wrote that the rebels were dispirited, I should have added that the chief cause of their despondency was the non-arrival of their co-religionists to their assistance. When I heard that Maler Kotla had been attacked, I at once feared that the rising would be a general one. It was known to me, and to every officer who has been connected with this and neighbouring districts, and to the higher authorities, that the firm belief was entertained by all Kukas that their rule was soon to commence. The Subhas had been moving about the country in a very suspicious manner. The watchword of the sect—"Death to the killers of cows"—was one which was eminently calculated to enlist on their side the sympathies of Hindus of all classes, and there had been, ever since the Raikot murders, a feeling of uneasiness and dread among all classes of the community. There was reason then from the beginning to fear that the outbreak would be a serious one.

3. On the 16th of January (the day before the executions) reliable information reached me that on the very morning of the attack gangs of Kukas were seen moving towards Kotla, and it is placed beyond a doubt that on that and the two following days bands of Kukas continued to advance on Kotla, and dispersed on hearing of the fate of their brethren. The statements of the officials of the Kotla State, of the lambardárs and others of neighbouring villages in Kotla and in British territory, and of the sowars and sepoys of Kotla, which have been forwarded to you, all prove that the information I received, and on which I founded the necessity for the action I took, was reliable.

4. When the first gang of insurgents was captured at Rúr, the disturbance was over, but for the moment only; and when the native contingents arrived I no longer feared a successful attack on the town of Kotla, but parties of Kukas continued to arrive and to move about the neighbourhood. It was clear that the state of the weather and the flooded state of the country had alone prevented succour from arriving in time to prevent the capture, and there was no security that these bands would disperse peaceably, but, on the contrary, there was every reason to fear that they would proceed to commit fresh outrages in revenge for the capture of their co-religionists, and I need scarcely say that the plunder of a single village by one of these bands, or the murder of butchers, would have caused the movement to spread with rapidity. It was not then known to me that Rám Singh and his chief Subhas were being arrested and deported. Had a single known leader joined the gangs about Kotla, he would undoubtedly have led them to the commission of fresh outrages in other parts, and I respectfully submit that there were "immediate urgent reasons" for ordering a punishment which should strike terror into these gangs and drive them to their homes. It is in evidence that the Naib Nazim of Sherpur was accompanied by three sowars only when he induced the insurgents to surrender. In point of fact there were several other horsemen with him in addition to the three cavalry, and he was closely followed to the spot by the villagers of Rúr (who had fled to the jungle on approach of the Kukas) and by men of other villages.

5. In para. 11 of the letter of the Government of India, I am required to show "some ground for thinking that summary execution would, and that punishment in the ordinary course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling." I would reply to this that the massacres at Amritsar and Raikot, in May and June last, were committed by the same sect, acting under the same impulses, and with the same avowed objects. During the enquiry into those cases, Colonel McAndrew, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, an Officer who thoroughly understands native feeling, and who foresaw the danger setting in, applied to Government that the prisoners then captured should be summarily executed. I did not join in that recommendation, fearing that such summary executions would have the appearance of reprisals rather than of punishment. The application was not acceded to. The greater number of the perpetrators and abettors of the Amritsar and Raikot massacres were apprehended. They were tried by the ordinary tribunals, and were executed or transported. Yet those executions and punishments according to law had no effect in preventing an outbreak of a much more serious character on the first opportunity. I submit, therefore, that I had "some ground for thinking that summary execution would, and punishment in the ordinary course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling," for it is known that the *beginning* of this rebellion was the murder of butchers at Amritsar, followed by a similar massacre at Raikot.

6. With reference to para. 12 of the letter of the Government of India, directing me to state more fully the grounds of my belief that a

serious outbreak was intended, I beg leave to make the following remarks.

In para. 2 of this letter I have stated my grounds for believing from the first that a serious outbreak was intended. I add here, what is so well known that it need only be mentioned, *viz.*, that the partitioning of the whole land into *Subhadaries*, the implicit belief entertained by the whole sect that Rám Singh was soon to rule over the country, the restless working of the Subhas towards the fulfilment of their own prophecies, and the despatching of embassies to Foreign States, were all facts of grave political significance. It is quite certain that the butcher murders at Raikot and Amritsar were planned and perpetrated as part of a political plan, the object being to prepare the minds of all Hindus for the great coming event. It is well known that those murders were to have been followed by other similar murders at Sirsa, Dehli, Fírozpúr, and other places, and that the capture of the Raikot gang disconcerted, for a time, the plans of the leaders. When to this is added the fact that parties of Kukas from all parts flocked towards Kotla on the day of the attack and for two days after, in weather in which no reasonable man would allow his cattle to go out of doors, the unmistakeable object of these men being to join the insurgents; I humbly submit that there were strong grounds for believing that a serious outbreak was intended, that there was every probability that Hindús of other denominations would join in the insurrection if it once gained head, and that, judging from past experience, punishment in the ordinary course of law would not deter other persons from rebelling.

7. That a danger has been averted is, I submit, amply corroborated by the evidence subsequently recorded and forwarded to you. I would only here call attention to the evidence of the Lambardárs of Syál; to the fact that the day after the attack on Kotla the Guru Rám Singh exclaimed, in a moment of excitement, when some of his disciples asked him for orders, "Híra Singh and Lehna Singh" (the insurgent leaders) "are fools; they disobeyed my orders; they should have waited till Cheyt" (or words to that effect); to the statement of the convicted prisoner Bhagwán Singh, that the rails were to be torn up between Ambálah and Ludiánah and agents sent to raise the country about Amritsar; to the fact that the Máharája of Patiála found it necessary to arrest and load with irons Sardár Mangal Singh; and to the remark, pregnant with meaning, of the Sikh Sárdar Utam Singh of Rámgarh, a relative of the Máharája of Patiála,—"You must have troops at Ludiánah' and *they must not be Sikhs.*"

P. S.—The enclosures of your memo. are herewith returned.

No. 648, dated 28th February 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I am desired, with reference to your letter No. 289, dated 8th instant, to forward a letter, dated 17th instant, from Mr. Cowan, on the subject of the executions at Kotla, together with a minute recorded by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

Dated 26th February 1872.

Minute by the Hon'ble R. H. Davies, C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab.

In forwarding, for the consideration of the Government of India, Mr. Cowan's letter of the 17th instant, I desire to make the following remarks, supplementary to those contained in the letter of this Government No. 59C., dated 7th February.

2. Since that was written, I have arrived at Ludiánah, and have had an opportunity of conversing with all classes of the people, and in particular with the leading personages of the Sikh and Muhammadan persuasions; I have further received various communications in the Police Department relative to the present attitude of the Kukas.

3. The tendency of the information I have thus additionally acquired is greatly to strengthen the opinion I have hitherto expressed as to the dangerous character of this conspiracy. I have seen no reason to doubt the correctness of Mr. Cowan's belief (referred to in para. 12 of Mr. Bayley's letter) "that a serious outbreak was intended," and have no hesitation in saying that "there are substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kukas."

4. Such is the unanimous affirmation of the numerous persons whom I have consulted. The Afghán pensioners, the Sikh Sardárs, the Native and European officials are equally positive on this head. Opportunity alone is awaited.

5. Amongst the natives there is a similar unanimity of approval of the executions at Kotla. I have heard nothing but applause and gratitude expressed in respect of the summary slaughter of the whole gang blown away from guns. In these sentiments I do not myself concur. But what I object to is, not the incompetency of the Judge or the exceptional method of capital punishment employed, but the indiscriminate severity of the sentence given. I am disposed to regard the emergency as one that might excuse Mr. Cowan in deeming it necessary to waive the forms of law; and, however shocking the mode of execution may generally appear, it is painless to the sufferer and well calculated to affright the by-standers and all who heard of it. Such blame as Mr. Cowan has justly incurred is not, in my opinion, enhanced by his having authorized this unusual but exemplary punishment.

6. By the deportation of the Guru Rám Singh and the leading Subhas, the designs of the sect have for a time been frustrated, and the fear inspired by the executions has had its own deterrent effect. But the permanence of the repression is doubtful. The large majority of the Subhas are still at large. Their interest is in fanning the fanatical flame. And the relatives of those who have suffered capitally are animated by a strong spirit of revenge. Meetings are held,—sectarian union strengthened and expanded,—new outrages are threatened. There is always the risk of some desperate adventure being attempted.

7. The numbers of these Kukas are doubtful. The outward signs by which they were at first distinguishable have of late been discontinued. The enumeration, made through the Tahsíldárs, gives so low a total as to raise a strong suspicion of its correctness, and is widely at variance with the popular report. But the distinction between the Kuka and the orthodox Sikh is not in reality great. The Kuka leans

towards a greater austerity. He repudiates wine and flesh. He objects to hunting, and tells his beads. He boasts that he belongs to the reformed Khálsa, and treats the old Sikhs as backsliders. Odious and impertinent as all these affected scruples appear to the gentry, they have weight with the common people. Stories are abroad of vast multitudes miraculously fed by the Guru. Those who least give way to his pretensions admit that the hearts of all good Hindus are with him in his holy horror of kine-killing. The prominence given by him in his preaching to the militant doctrines of Guru Gobind Singh, revive the hopes of the more adventurous spirits who love to recal the transformation of their ancestors from zemindárs into sardárs. A common religion, nationality and ambition incline the secret sympathies of the non-Muhammadan population, between the Jamna and Jhelam, towards the new Guru's self-reliant re-assertion of their own primitive mysticism; and they contemplate with troubled feelings of awe and admiration his practical confession of the faith that removes mountains. Touched in its finest fibres by the most subtle and seductive influences, the gross mass of an ignorant people might, under a combination of circumstances favorable to the audacious dreams of their spiritual guide, be wrought to such a pitch of enthusiasm as would render it for a time the formidable instrument of designs otherwise impracticable.

8. It is undoubtedly some such alarmed sense of the potency of the spell wielded by the Guru that finds expression in the general relief experienced by the gentry of all denominations, not only in the deportation of himself and his leading Subhas, but also in the wholesale and terrifying executions precipitated at Kotla. It is to them as if some monstrous dragon had been killed, the very breath of which, had it been suffered to live, would have bred pestilence and mortality throughout the country.

9. Therefore, when it is said, as it may be said truly, that these Kukas are an obscure sect of low-born mechanical fanatics, most often of the dregs of the people—that their numbers are indefinitely multiplied by vulgar rumour—that few learned or noble are found amongst them—that fewer still have been taken into the ranks of the Army or Police—that their wealth is small, their resources insignificant, that they are destitute of arms, horses and ammunition, and of everything that is necessary to inspire confidence in their project of rebellion—their real, that is their potential, force remains to be estimated;—it can only be conjectured, and would vary under varying circumstances. But, under the worst for us, it might embrace as a reserve the bulk of the Hindu population of the Punjab. Nor must it be forgotten that the strength of the Kuka sect is much increased by the completeness of its organization, the whole Sikh portion of the province being divided into districts and subdivisions, in the charge of Subhas directly subordinate to the Guru, while Kuka emissaries and agents are stationed in many parts of India and in the States on its immediate border.

10. However deep and universal may be the feeling pervading a people, it will be slow in impelling them to enter upon anything like open rebellion against a powerful Government. But when this feeling has become nervously susceptible, the successes—local and insignificant

perhaps in themselves—of small bands of devotees, moved to desperation by its influence, must inevitably vibrate through the whole body of those whom it associates together. It was under this conviction that, on receiving within a few hours of each other reports of the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla, I applied to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to move up troops and to the Government of India for warrants for deportation of Rám Singh and several of his Subhas. I thought it not impossible that, in the absence of a movable force, a serious crisis might come about.

11. The attack on Kotla was unsuccessful, and had it been otherwise it is matter of conjecture what the consequences would have been. But, as the chief town of the only Muhammadan State in the Cis-Satlej territory, its selection for assault appealed strongly to Sikh prejudices. It had in 1794 been similarly attacked in revenge for kine-killing by Bedi Sáhib Singh, who again in 1798 raised 7,000 Sikhs, "preached at Amritsar a religious war against the Afgháns of Raikot on the same pretext," overran the Raikot district, and laid siege to Ludiánah. Nor can it be left out of view in this retrospect, that although "a Patiála force soon reached Kotla, Bedi Sáhib Singh was a sacred character, *and the Sikh soldiers were unwilling to fight against him*.*" Making due allowances for exaggerated apprehension on the part of the residents of Ludiánah lest history should repeat itself, I am not surprised at their unanimous support of Mr. Cowan's severity. The Afghán pensioners doubtless feel that they themselves might have been the victims of a sudden and savage outburst of sanguinary fanaticism.

* *Vide* Griffin's "Rajas of the Punjab."

12. My late enquiries, therefore, have confirmed me in the view which I originally took of Mr. Cowan's conduct. All the circumstances set forth in the preceding recital justified him in regarding the possible consequences of the Kuka movement as seriously involving the interests of the British Government and the immediate security of the European and of the higher Native community. I concur with him in thinking that it was necessary to visit the perpetrators of the outbreak, even though unsuccessful, with exemplary punishment. And though I think that he acted with undue haste and unnecessarily exceeded his powers, and included in the capital sentence many more culprits than were required for the sake of a striking example, nevertheless, as he did substantially no injustice, as the circumstances of the time were such as to overburden his mind with his obligation to proclaim without delay that fanatics, equally careless of their own lives and those of others, shall not be allowed, in secret reliance on the sympathies of their less daring co-religionists, to form themselves into gangs and carry rapine and murder into any place they may select, with the ultimate purpose of raising a general insurrection ; as, in short, he inflicted no punishment in excess of those legally incurred, and sincerely and, in my opinion, justly believed that a severe example was needed, —taking all these considerations together, I still hold that it is just and politic to support, even though I do not wholly approve of, his acts. And in this conclusion I am not influenced by the fact that some encouragement has been derived by the Kukas from his suspension from office, which they attribute to the mysterious agency of their Guru.

13. As regards the measures to be taken to check further outbreaks on the part of the Kukas, I have instructed the Police to put a stop as far as possible to assemblies of more than five in number, and to deal with them under Section 143 of the Penal Code. The remaining leaders are also carefully watched. All signs of approximation between the Kukas and orthodox Sikhs are brought to notice. At present nothing further than incessant vigilance is necessary, and I think it preferable not to refer to measures taken by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in consultation with the Government of India.

Demi-official letter, dated Amritsar, the 2nd March 1872.

From—Lieut.-Col. C. H. HALL, Offg. Commissioner and Supdt., Amritsar Division,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN the Amritsar and Siálkot Districts, rumours are prevalent that the Kukas have fixed on the month of April as the time at which they intend to be up and doing, and that they intend to die in and for their faith.

In Siálkot the Kukas have determined to style themselves Mahungam, and become martyrs to their religion.

It is said that many of them have "tubbuls," a kind of pointed battle-axe.

I have directed that in every case in which it is ascertained that a man is in possession of this weapon of offence, it is to be confiscated, as it is contrary to the provisions of the Arms Act.

With their ordinary hatchet it is difficult to interfere, unless a man carries it about beyond the boundaries of his own village, when it is also to be confiscated. I trust this is right?

The Kukas in all three districts appear to be perfectly quiet, and no meetings appear to be held of any kind.

In Gurdáspur there is a bad feeling between the Muhammadans and Hindus, which may lead to some disturbances between them. It very nearly did so at Dínanaggar, but for the prompt interference of the Police.

The inhabitants of Amritsar evinced great loyalty on the day of thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales.

No. 99, dated the 9th March 1872.

From—Lieut.-Col. G. HUTCHINSON, C. S. I., Inspector-General of Police, Punjab,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

FORWARDS, for information, copy ofa report from Colonel Perkins, District Superintendent of Police, Ludiánah, on the late Kuka outbreak at Maloudh and Maler Kotla.

No. 56, dated Ludiánah, 6th February 1872.

From—Lieut.-Col. E. N. PERKINS, District Superintendent, Police, Ludiánah,
To—The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambálah Circle.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 157, dated 29th ultimo, calling upon me for an official report of the proceedings of the late Kuka outbreak, &c.

As the Inspector-General was informed of each day's occurrences by special report during the whole of the time I was absent at Maloudh and Kotla with the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, I can but recapitulate the events of each day as already reported. The Deputy Commissioner taking the case into his own hands from the first, I only acted under his orders and carried into effect his wishes.

The assembling of the Kukas at Bhaini (to which there was no restriction) for the Lohri festival, commenced on or about the 10th ultimo. Everything went off quietly, parties arriving and leaving each day, the whole breaking up and going off to their homes by the 13th, with the exception of some 80 men headed by Híra Singh, of Sakraudi, Patiála. This individual, it appears, had determined to avenge the death of one Gyani Ratan Singh, a Subha (lately hung at Ludiánah for the Raikot murders), and openly expressing his intention when starting from Bhainí, induced a number of other desperadoes to join him, intimating an intention of proceeding to Kotla, where they hoped to possess themselves of treasure, arms, &c.

The Deputy Inspector of Saniwál, Sarfráz Khán, who was present at Bhaini, on hearing of this, sent a Sergeant to follow them up, and on the return of this man with the report that the party had gone to "Rámpúr" in Patiála territory, wrote to the Thanadar of Douráha, in whose iláqua they then were, and came into Ludiánah to report the matter in person. On his arrival I took him over to the Deputy Commissioner, who immediately had the information conveyed to the Vakíls of Patiála and Kotla. Nothing more was heard during the 14th, and it was hoped the band had broken up, but on the following morning an account of the attack on Maloudh was received from the Deputy Inspector of Dehlon, upon which the Deputy Commissioner and myself started for the scene of action, and on the road were met by a Sowár from Kotla with information of another attack having been made on that place at 8 A. M. that morning, the man stating that, when he left, the place was surrounded by Kukas, and heavy fighting going on. Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, immediately wrote a telegram requesting that troops might be sent, despatching it by the Kotla Sowár to Ludiánah.

On arrival at Maloudh the place was inspected, and arrangements made for the security of the village, and the prisoners found placed under a proper Police guard. The band on leaving Bhaini appeared to have remained but a short time at Rámpúr, and then started south, passing through the Patiála territory, and putting up for the night at a well belonging to one of the Kuka fraternity near village Rabbu, in Dehlon Thánah, on the confines of the district. Here they remained the night (13th) and up to the evening of the following day (14th).

At Rabbu it appears from the statements of the prisoners that the idea was first mooted of taking Maloudh on their way, in hopes of obtaining arms, &c., from the Sardárs. They left Rabbu about 8 P. M., and entered the village by the west gate, leaving sentries to protect the same. One party proceeded at once to the house of Sardár Baddan Singh, Honorary Magistrate, whom they attacked and wounded in the neck—another party went to the stables, killed the coachman and took away four horses. Nabí Baksh, the Munshí, was killed near the Sardár's Kachery; the whole street was full of men who were pelted with bricks, and from the roofs of the houses by villagers—two of the Kukas being killed and several wounded. The Kukas possessed themselves here of three swords and a double-barrelled gun, remaining about an hour, and then left in the direction of Kotla, leaving behind them the killed and wounded, one shot through the arm by a Shikári and others disabled by bricks and *lathies*.

The Deputy Commissioner was occupied the following morning (16th) in examining the accused parties, and Rám Singh arrived about 12 o'clock, having been sent for from Bhaini the previous day, but the Deputy Commissioner being anxious to push on to Kotla, Rám Singh was told he would be called in to Ludiánah if wanted. We then left for Kotla, and on the road met the Risála of Jínd and Nábha, also the Naib Názim of Amarghar (Wazír Alí), who reported his having been successful in capturing nearly the whole gang near Sherpur, Patiála.

On our arrival at Kotla the greatest consternation and alarm still existed amongst the officials and townspeople, which only subsided on the appearance of the contingents of the surrounding States; for it was generally apprehended, from the constant reports from the neighbourhood of small bodies of Kukas collecting in all directions, that another attack would take place.

The following morning (17th) Deputy Commissioner and myself inspected the city and scene of action. The gang appeared to have had but little difficulty in entering the town through a large space in the dilapidated wall, and to have met with little or no opposition until they reached the Palace square, where they were met by the Thánádár and a few men, and here the only real fighting took place, 15 being killed on both sides. The Thánádár is said to have killed three of the assailants with his own hand before he succumbed to a sword wound on the head. The Kukas evidently hoped to get into the treasury, but luckily, breaking open the wrong door, found only a few papers, misls, &c., in the place. They also took some arms out of a kothi, but not finding any ammunition threw them down a well, and they were afterwards recovered. The Kotla people were evidently unprepared for the attack; this, they say, was in consequence of the short notice received, the report from the Vakíl only reaching Kotla at 8 P. M. on the 14th, the man having been informed by me at 11 o'clock on the previous night (13th), and the distance being only 31 miles.

As the prisoners had not made their appearance up to 12 o'clock, I, after consultation with the Deputy Commissioner, went out with a few horse to meet them some six miles from Kotla, and brought them in in safety. A more determined set of ruffians I never saw; several

of them on the way in were excessively abusive, declaring they wanted no other Government but that of their own sect.

It was determined by the Deputy Commissioner summarily to execute 50 of the 68 captured by blowing them away from guns, reserving 16 to be hung at Maloudh, and in consequence arrangements were made for the executions to take place that evening, which were duly carried out—a letter from the Commissioner arriving too late to stop the same.

I should have mentioned that on my meeting the party, I found that Híra Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang, had been taken, and the former informed me that the whole of the gang had been captured. During the executions a most savage attack was made upon the Deputy Commissioner by one of the prisoners, who was instantly cut to pieces. The following day (18th) the Commissioner (escorted by a detachment of the 12th Cavalry under the command of Colonel Gough) arrived and confirmed Mr. Cowan's proceedings of the previous day. He also held a formal trial of the remaining prisoners and sentenced them also to suffer death, thus showing that he considered the outbreak a serious one, and one from which, unless dealt with severely at the first, very great danger to the State was to be apprehended.

In the evening a Darbár was held by the Commissioner for the distribution of rewards to those who had done good service towards the capture of the gang, &c., &c.

The following morning the Commissioner and party returned to Maloudh, where he was occupied during the day in trying the four prisoners taken at that place. They were sentenced to be hung—a sentence which was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

Up to the 18th information was frequently received that small parties of Kukas from various quarters were flocking towards Kotla, and these gangs apparently only dispersed on hearing of the executions.

On the morning of the 20th, the Commissioner, after receiving visits from the Sardárs of Maloudh, Rámpúr and Bhír, left for Dehlon and Ludiánah, Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Gough and self accompanying him.

I should have mentioned that the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Ince, went with us to Maloudh on the 15th, and on the following morning preceded us to Kotla, and returned to Ludiánah in the evening of the same day.

Referring to para. No. 2 of the letter, I am not aware of any extraordinary measures for information, &c., being in force consequent on the Raikot murders, other than the arrangements I found on my receiving charge of the district at the latter end of November, which were those of Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh having been specially appointed to keep a look-out on the movements of the sect and report direct to the Commissioner and Deputy Inspector-General, also a few men told off here and there through the district to report anything suspicious. The Kukas, however, were particularly quiet previous to the late outbreak, which appears to have been quite a premature affair, and I believe against the wishes of Rám Singh, whose plans for a far more serious disturbance were thus, as it turned out, fortunately anticipated.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in stating that the Police worked well and willingly.

No. 914, dated the 15th March 1872.

From—LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN continuation of this office No. 93 C., dated 22nd February last, I am desired to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter No. 56, dated 6th idem, from Lieutenant-Colonel E. N. Perkins, Deputy Inspector of Police, Ludiánah, reporting on the late Kuka outbreak at Maloudh and Maler Kotla.

NOTES on Bhainí-álah, by Captain C. S. McLEAN, Offg. Military Secretary to Govt., Punjab, dated 25th February 1872.

ACCORDING to His Honor's instructions I proceeded this morning to visit Bhainí-álah, the village of Rám Singh, Kuka.

The village contains about 80 houses I was told, is unwalled and insignificant in appearance. Rám Singh's quarters are situated at the eastern side of the village, and consist of two high walled enclosures divided by a narrow street.

The first of these enclosures contains a shop for the sale of cloth, ghí, grain, &c., Rám Singh's own private residence, a harmandar or dharmsálah, and a cooking-house or langri-khánah. He appears to have done a great deal of business as a grain and cloth merchant. He had a "hati" or shop on the new canal.

An agent of Rám Singh's still carries on the sale of goods in the shop. The Police guard are quartered in Rám Singh's portion of the building. Cooking for about thirty people still goes on in the langri-khánah, where I saw a large number of brass cooking pots, cauldrons, &c., &c.

One of the langris informed me that bread for hundreds of people used to be cooked here occasionally, and he shewed me a large drum which he said used to be beaten as a signal at meal times.

The harmandar which adjoins Rám Singh's private quarters is now in disuse.

It contained very little to mark the use it had been put to besides the numerous small charpoys on which the "Granths" used to be placed.

Forty or fifty disciples are said to have been constantly engaged in reading these and other religious books, which they said were printed at Lahore.

The dimensions of this enclosure are, roughly speaking, as follows:—

Length, 190 feet; breadth, 74 feet.

Walls about 2 feet thick, built of kutcha brick, beautifully plastered, and kept in good order.

Their general height is from 10 to 12 feet.

Where they form the outer sides of the buildings they are higher, and average from 15 to 16 feet in height.

Along the inside of one of the walls of this enclosure are a number of "necessary" buildings for the convenience of Rám Singh's visitors. The street wall divides the mouth of the well, so that water can be drawn from the inside as well as from without. This enclosure commands the whole of the west of the village by many feet.

The second enclosure, which forms the outermost building on that side of the village, is about 40 paces in length by 18 in breadth.

The general height of the wall is about 12 feet, but where it also forms the outer side of the buildings it contains the height varies from 16 to 19 feet.

These measurements are all rough.

The building contains an entrance hall and with a pucca brick gateway. On the right hand side is a room containing a mill driven by bullocks, such as is found only in large cities. I believe at this end also are a few small store-rooms for grain, &c.

At the left-hand end of the entrance hall are store-rooms for grain. One of the compartments was empty, the other or further one was full, nearly up to the roof, and must have contained very many maunds.

Passing through this hall I entered a court-yard, one side of which was a building containing stabling for about 30 horses; about 15 horses were standing tied up outside.

On the opposite side was a building for bullocks, cows, &c., of which some had been sold, but about 10 or 12 were still remaining. Several large carts were standing in this yard; one end of the yard had no buildings, at the other were several small store-houses.

The walls of this enclosure were from 1½ to 2 feet thick and solidly built of kutcha bricks, and beautifully plastered and kept in good order. Two or three feet of one of the end walls had been knocked down by order of the Civil authorities; the bricks were still lying where they fell.

The bricks had been made in the neighbouring jungle, where the numerous mud holes often contained sufficient water for the purpose. These two enclosures cannot be considered as fortifications, nor probably were they ever intended to be, but from the height of the walls and the solidity of their construction they could not be taken without much loss of life, if held by determined men. Guns would knock them to pieces in a few minutes, however.

They are very pretentious in appearance, and if left standing will keep up the memory of Rám Singh. The ground on which they are built belongs to the villagers, who are anxious to get it back. They say they gave it up to Rám Singh through fear.

Outside of the village, at a distance of 120 yards, is a well near which Rám Singh's visitors used to remain during their stay. Adjoining

this is a patch of land which he had appropriated and which he had begun to enclose with a wall of the same description as those already described.

The rest of the patch was surrounded with a hedge of thorns. The patch is about 120 yards by 50. In this is a small house containing a charpoy and "Granth" and called an Akál Bungah.

This place was purposely chosen on account of its isolation from the village. Here used to be discussed the various projects of the Kukas.

Within a few feet of Akál Bungah is a chabútra on which Rám Singh used to sit and expound his doctrines to his disciples. The whole of this land is village property, and the people to whom it belongs want it back. There is another very small building near the well in which a few chaukidars used to live for the purpose of looking after the Akál Bungah.

Many of Rám Singh's visitors came with arms, and a well was pointed out to me from which some swords had been taken. Rám Singh's father came to see me, and said his son was guiltless of any crime. He is very old, about 90, I should think. His (Rám Singh's) brother, Budh Singh, shewed me all over the place. He is said to have realized large sums of money by the sale of Rám Singh's goods.

Rám Singh's daughter also made her appearance, and requested to be allowed to go to stay with her father. There is a very large quantity of firewood still lying about.

In conclusion, I may state that there are a number of Rám Singh's servants still hanging about the place, one of them the person who provided him with drinking water, and other langrís and men who are looking after his horses.

He appears to have had what the natives call a great "*kárkhánah.*" It is not in my province to say so perhaps, but I would strongly recommend that the whole of the buildings I have mentioned should be rased to the ground.

No. 569, dated Fort William, the 22nd March 1872.

From—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Government of India, Home Dept.,
To—The Offg. Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

WITH reference to your letter No. 76 C., dated the 14th ultimo, and the previous correspondence relating to the trial and punishment of the Kukas concerned in the recent outbreak, I am directed to state that a paper drawn up by Mr. Forsyth, and containing the following passage, has been confidentially communicated to the Viceroy and Governor-General :—

"On reaching Ludiánah on the evening of the 16th, I received a letter from Mr. Cowan expressing his desire to execute his prisoners at once. I wrote requesting him to leave all the men caught by the Patiála authorities in their charge till I could send out a guard to bring them in to Ludiánah for trial. This letter Mr. Cowan must have received some time before he executed any."

2. This statement is directly contrary to the distinct assertion of Mr. Cowan in the correspondence submitted by the Punjab Government. It is also contrary to the spirit of Mr. Forsyth's own account of the same incident in that correspondence. In his letter No. 16, dated the 17th January last, to the address of the Commissioner of Ambálah, Mr. Cowan refers to a communication which he had received before the execution terminated, when the last batch of prisoners was being tied to the guns; and this account is corroborated by Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins in his journal having reference to the same event.

3. Mr. Forsyth, in the correspondence submitted by the Punjab Government, extenuates the conduct of Mr. Cowan by stating that his official letter and orders regarding the Kukas did not reach Mr. Cowan till the execution was over, making no mention of a demi-official letter which had reached Mr. Cowan sooner, though he alludes to the demi-official letter elsewhere. In the extract subjoined to paragraph 1 above, Mr. Forsyth speaks of having written a letter which Mr. Cowan must have received "some time before he executed any."

4. It is not clear whether this statement refers to some letter of which no official mention has been made, or to the demi-official letter mentioned by Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth. If the former hypothesis be correct, the circumstance that the letter was not brought officially to the notice of Government should be explained. The latter hypothesis is inconsistent with the assertion of Mr. Cowan, which assertion was before Mr. Forsyth when the paper which forms the subject of my letter was drawn up by him.

5. These are points which in justice to Mr. Cowan should be cleared up. With this view, I am desired to request that, under the orders of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, you will be good enough—

(1).—To obtain a copy of the letter referred to by Mr. Forsyth as having necessarily reached Mr. Cowan before the execution, and of the demi-official letter which is stated to have been delivered to Mr. Cowan during the execution, if there were two separate letters.

(2).—If there was only one letter, to obtain from Mr. Forsyth a statement of the grounds on which he founded his belief that that letter must have reached Mr. Cowan before the execution.

(3).—To obtain from Mr. Cowan an exact account of the circumstances under which the earliest letter from Mr. Forsyth reached him; of the hour at which it was delivered to him; of the place in which it found him; and of the number of Kuka prisoners who remained alive at the instant at which he became aware of its contents.

(4).—To obtain from Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins a statement of the same character.

No. 1076, dated 2nd April 1872.

From—C. M. Rivaz, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division.

I am directed to forward copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 569, dated the

22nd instant, relative to the executions on the occasion of the recent Kuka outbreak, and to request that you will furnish copy of the letter or letters (as the case may be) referred to in the 1st instruction contained in para. 5, and submit, if necessary, under the contingency mentioned, the explanation required by the 2nd instruction in the same para.

No. 1077, dated 2nd April 1872.

From—C. M. Rivaz, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—L. Cowan, Esq., Ludiánah.

I am directed to forward copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 569, dated the 22nd instant, relative to the executions on the occasion of the recent Kuka outbreak, and to request that you will submit copy of the letter or letters (as the case may be) referred to in the 1st instruction contained in para. 5, and furnish a full statement on the points noted in the 3rd instruction.

No. 1078, dated 2nd April 1872.

From—C. M. Rivaz, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The District Superintendent of Police, Ludiánah.

With reference to the executions which took place at Maler Kotla on the occasion of the recent Kuka outbreak, I am to request that you will submit direct to this office an exact account of the circumstances under which the earliest letter from Mr. Forsyth reached Mr. Cowan; of the hour at which it was delivered to him; of the place in which it found him; and of the number of Kuka prisoners who remained alive at the instant at which he became aware of its contents.

No. 1270, dated 11th April 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

With reference to your letter No. 569, dated 22nd March, I am desired to forward copies of the replies marginally noted on the subject of Mr. Forsyth's orders to Mr. Cowan regarding the disposal of the Kukas concerned in the recent outbreak.

No. 153, dated 8th April, from T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B.
Letter dated 8th April, from L. Cowan, Esq.
Letter dated 5th April, from Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins.

No. 153, dated Ambálah, 8th April 1872.

From—T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambálah Division,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

In reply to your No. 1076, dated 2nd April 1872, I have the honor to state that three letters were addressed by me to Mr. Cowan on the subject of the mode of dealing with the prisoners taken at Maloudh

and Maler Kotla, between the time of my arrival at Ludiánah on the night of the 16th January and the receipt of the news of the executions on 17th January. The first letter was sent off some time in the night of the 16th, and before the despatch of my telegram to you, marked B. I am not quite certain of the hour of despatch. That it arrived at its destination before the executions took place is unquestioned. Mr. Cowan informs me that he received it on the 16th or 17th, but he probably in his reply will give the exact hour of its receipt. As to the contents of that letter, it being in demi-official form, I unfortunately kept no copy, and Mr. Cowan informs me that the original has been mislaid.

2. According to my recollection the letter was to the effect that he was to keep the captured Kukas in the hands of the Patiála authorities in the Fort of Sherpur till I could send a Gurkha Guard to bring them into Ludiánah for trial; and meanwhile he was to beat up stragglers. Mr. Cowan says in a letter to me lately received—"I remember having received a demi-official from you on the 16th or 17th January, to the effect that it would be best to keep the captured rebels in the Fort of Sherpur till you could send out a force to take charge of them;" so that on the main point Mr. Cowan's recollection agrees with mine as to the purport of my orders for the disposal of the prisoners.

3. As regards the second letter, I have to state that Mr. Cowan's telegram A. (copy given in the margin) was received at the Ludiánah Telegraph Office at 5-2 A. M. on the 17th, and at 5-48 A. M. my telegram B. was also received.

A.

16th January 1872.

From—Cowan, Maloudh,

To—Secretary to Government, Punjab, *Dehli.*

Against 4 of the Maloudh murderers the proof is convincing. Allow me to execute them on the spot. It is of importance that the punishment should be *prompt.* I go on to Kotla.

B.

From—Commissioner, Ludiánah,

To—Secretary to Government, Punjab, Dehli.

Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once 4 men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed, &c., &c.

4. On making enquiry subsequent to the receipt of your letter now under reply, I am informed by the Telegraph Office that these messages were delayed five hours in the office, and were not despatched till 10-25 A. M. and 10-30 A. M. respectively. I waited till about noon expecting an answer from the Lieutenant-Governor, and, as none * came, I despatched my official letter No. 2, copy of which is already before the Government, and is again submitted for convenience of reference, which letter reached Mr. Cowan while the executions were going on.

* The answer, as follows, reached me after midnight, having evidently been delayed in transit:—
"With reference to your telegram regarding execution of rebels, Lieutenant-Governor concurs with you. He, however, approves Mr. Cowan's energy and zeal." 17th January 1872.

5. The third letter was written subsequently, but, as the second letter arrived too late, it is unnecessary to go into particulars as to the time of arrival of later orders. A copy of the letter, however, is annexed.

6. With reference to para. 4 of the letter from the Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, the loss of the original letter prevents my sending a copy. As it was not couched in regular official form, and as it only contained instructions to keep the prisoners till they could be sent in for trial, and did not contain the peremptory prohibition against the summary executions to be found in the subsequent letters, it may be that Mr. Cowan considered he might exercise some discretion, and therefore his statement alluded to by the Secretary to Government may be taken to refer only to the prohibitory, and not to the declaratory, order.

7. I take this opportunity to make some remarks explanatory of the sentence carried into execution against the 16 men on 18th January.

8. When the case was submitted for my orders, I had to consider it in its judicial aspect, as well as from a political point of view.

9. Now, taking the judicial view of the case as it stood by itself quite apart from all other considerations, 16 men, belonging to a gang who had committed a double series of murders, were pronounced to be guilty of the charge preferred against them. The sentence for their crime was death, and had the case been tried in the Courts governed by our Codes, it would have been incumbent on me to show very good cause why that sentence should be mitigated. Had the case then been a solitary one, there would have been no more ground for hesitating to confirm a sentence of death passed on 16 men than there would have been last year for the Chief Court to hesitate to pass sentence on 12 men for the murder of the butchers.

10. I had, however, to consider all the surrounding circumstances, and the first one which would naturally influence me was the fact that so many men had already suffered for the same offence. But there were counterbalancing arguments, which I now propose to reproduce.

11. One consideration was that, if the case admitted of it, Mr. Cowan ought to be supported. However much I might have deprecated his proposed action, and inwardly deplored it when as yet not taken, still, when once done, I felt myself placed in an entirely different, and, it will be readily conceded, in a most difficult position. To hastily disavow his proceedings and to cancel his acts at such a moment I considered would be most unwise.

12. When the news of the executions by Mr. Cowan reached me, I had just ended a long confidential talk with Guru Rám Singh. I had learned from him that the sect, which, when I met him at Anandpúr Makhowál in 1867, owed him implicit obedience, now had passed entirely out of his control. Such was his assertion; and it was impossible not to be seriously affected by the reflections which arose out of such a revelation. The premature violence of Lehna Singh and his party might prove a miserable fiasco; but what assurance had I then that advantage of the occurrence would not be taken for the rest of the Kukas to rise, and thus support and push forward the movement begun by their brethren; and would not the next step have been to plunge the Province into actual war? When I went out to Kotla, I heard of bands of Kukas having been seen coming towards Kotla, but suddenly

disappearing on reaching near enough to get information of the fate that awaited them. It was while the sentence passed on the 16 men was awaiting my sanction that news of some such bands being in the neighbourhood was brought to me, and men were sent out to ascertain the truth, and to apprehend the culprits. To have shown leniency at such a time, then, to any whom the law declared to be worthy of death, would unquestionably have been mistaken for weakness. Every native knew that there was but one sentence to which those men were justly subject. Last year, the Chief Court had sentenced 12 men to death for the Raikot and Amritsar murders, and it was evident that these sentences had not had a deterrent effect.

13. There was another consideration to which weight had to be given. The attack on the Muhammadan State of Kotla conveys but small significance to the mind of the ordinary reader; but any one who has read the History of the Punjab Rájahs by Mr. Griffin will find that, so far back as in A. D. 1794, Bedi Saheb Singh, lineal descendant of Bába Nának, the first and most revered of the Sikh Gurus, proclaimed a religious war against the Maler Kotla Affghâns, whom he accused of killing cows,—as great an offence in the eyes of a Sikh as of any other Hindú. This present attack, then, was but the repetition of former fanatical fury, with, however, an important difference. In the last century, and in fact till within the last quarter of a century, the normal condition of these Provinces was anarchy, and attacks by one tribe or people on another were treated rather as a matter of course. But since the British Government took possession of the country, all classes have been taught to look for protection to the paramount Power, whose first duty, it has been truly said, is to maintain security for life and property. To the British Government, then, the Muhammadans of Maler Kotla looked for deliverance in their hour of need. As I entered the town of Kotla, I was met by the Názim and Tahsíldár, who form the Council of Regency during the vacancy caused by the death of the late Nawáb, and till the appointment of a successor. They earnestly described the dangers of their position, making, perhaps, more of the case than was correct, in order to exalt their own services. But in one respect they were genuinely earnest. They were in a decided dread of a second attack, and spoke of other Kukas coming sooner or later to renew murders. That they had imbibed a fear lest I should show too much leniency, was apparent from the earnest manner in which they begged that the men whose complicity in the attack they, in conjunction with Mr. Cowan, had pronounced to be proved, should not be let off with a less severe punishment than the law warranted. I felt myself bound to give due weight to this consideration. I may here mention that the next day, when I went over to Maloudh to try the men charged with the murderous attack on Sardár Mith Singh's house, and before I began to take up the case, the Sardár took me aside, and in a solemn manner assured me that unless I passed sentence of death on the prisoners, when found guilty, his life and the lives of the people with him would not be safe. I did not allow this to influence my final decision as to the disposal of the culprits at Maloudh, for reasons given in my judgment, but I went through the form of recording a sentence of death according to law.

14. There was yet another consideration. All these men had been doomed to execution on the previous day by Mr. Cowan, and it was known to all that they had only been spared temporarily by my orders arriving for their trial. If then, after trial, it should be found that the sentence intended by Mr. Cowan was a just one, was there not a certain amount of necessity laid on me to justify his proceedings in the eyes of the world, by giving a legal sanction to his decision?

15. Viewing the whole circumstances of the case, I considered that the sentence ought to be carried out.

Dated Mussoorie, 8th April 1872.

From—L. Cowan, Esq., Mussoorie,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 1577, dated 2nd instant, with enclosure, from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Home Department, No. 569, dated 22nd March 1872, calling for explanation on certain points connected with the punishments inflicted during the Kuka outbreak in January last. All my papers relating to the case have been left at Ludiánah. I had hoped to remain at this place for a few days only; that the correspondence was over, and that it would not be necessary to refer to it during my absence from Ludiánah. My recollection, however, of the occurrences at Kotla on the 17th and 18th of January is so distinct, that I do not hesitate to furnish the explanation called for without waiting for the papers.

2. Before the execution of the 49 men was over, I received *only one* letter from Mr. Forsyth, directing me not to execute the captured Kukas, but to keep them for trial. This letter reached me on the evening of the 17th January, a little before sunset. I was on what is called the parade-ground of the Kotla State, between a line formed by the sepoy's of the Native States and the guns. 42 or 43 of the insurgents had been executed before this letter was delivered to me; the remaining 6 or 7 men were tied to the guns, and a bugler was awaiting the order to sound the "fire." Colonel Perkins and some of the higher officials of the Native States were standing near me. After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter I handed it to Colonel Perkins with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to the guns, that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us. This letter was the *only one* I received from Mr. Forsyth on the 17th directing me to abstain from executing the prisoners.

3. Earlier in the day, before or about noon, as I was riding through the town of Kotla, a letter was put into my hand from Mr. Forsyth, who had arrived at Ludiánah late on the previous night. This note was to the effect that he had heard of the capture of the rebels, and that, in the present disturbed state of the country, it would be better that they should be detained in the Patiála Fort of Sherpur till he could send out a sufficiently strong guard to take charge of them. This note did not contain any instructions to have them brought *to trial*. I put the note in my pocket, and thought no more about it. It contained only a

suggestion which could not be acted on, for the captured Kukas were then close to Kotla on their way in.

4. The above is a plain statement of facts. Read by itself, the extract subjoined to para. 1 of the Supreme Government letter plainly implies that I acted at variance with orders received some time before the executions. That such was not the case, I have shown above; and, assuming that I had actually received orders not to execute the prisoners, and had disobeyed those orders, that such disregard of instructions would have been approved of is evidenced by the fact that on the 18th January, after receipt (on the night of the 17th) of my report of the executions, Mr. Forsyth wrote to me as follows:—

"My dear Cowan,—I fully approve and confirm all you have done. "You have acted admirably. I am coming out."

Yours sincerely,

"18*th January* 1872. (Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH."

I received this note about 11 A. M. on the 18th. A little later in the day Mr. Forsyth, accompanied by Colonel Gough and escorted by 30 or 40 sabres of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, arrived at Kotla; and after repeating to me verbally his approval of what I had done, ordered the immediate execution of 16 more prisoners.

5. On the 19th January, Mr. Forsyth desired me to give him copies of all the demi-official letters he had written to me, and I furnished him with copies of all in my possession. My belief is that I sent him with the others a copy of the note I received in the town of Kotla on the forenoon of the 17th. I destroyed several papers which I deemed of no importance, and probably this note with the rest, for I have not got it now. This is unfortunate, but I could not have supposed I would have been called on to furnish a copy of it. I had no conceivable motive for keeping it back. My act had been approved of and confirmed before I was asked for copies of these notes, and I had *nothing* to gain by suppressing any of them.

6. On the 25th March, two days before I left Ludiánah, Mr. Forsyth wrote to me for a copy of a letter in which he had asked me to keep the prisoners in Patiála *till he could send a guard to bring them in for trial*. I searched unsuccessfully among my papers, and replied by return of post that I recollected having received a letter from him desiring me to keep the prisoners in Sherpur till he could send out a force to secure them, and I added that I believed I had sent him a copy of this letter with the copies of his other demi-official letters, but that I could not now find it.

7. To save time, I have this day written to Mr. Forsyth, requesting him to forward you a copy of the letter which he addressed to me on the 17th, and which I received as the executions were over, and also a copy of any other letter of the same date.

Dated Lahore, 5th April 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel E. N. PERKINS, District Superintendent of Police,
To—The Offg. Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN reply to your letter No. 1078, of the 2nd instant (forwarded from Ludiánah), I beg to state that I remember Mr. Cowan receiving a letter previous to the conclusion of the executions at Kotla, but cannot state the exact time of its receipt, nor the number of Kukas still undealt with.

No. 857, dated 30th April 1872.

From—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept.,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government of the Punjab.

No. 1270, dated 11th April 1872.

IN continuation of my letter No. 569, dated 22nd March last, and with reference to your reply noted in the margin, on the subject of the summary execution of Kuka prisoners at Maler Kotla, I am directed to state that the Governor-General in Council is now in a position to pass final orders in this painful case.

2. His Excellency in Council has maturely considered the facts stated by Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan, and the expressions of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion contained in your letters of the 19th January, No. 23 C., the 7th February, No. 59 C., and of the 16th February, No. 78 C., and, without recapitulating all the circumstances of the case, which will be found in the memorandum appended, he thinks it right to recall the following leading facts to your recollection as being those on which his decision proceeds.

3. On the 17th January 49 persons, many of whom were wounded, were by Mr. Cowan's orders blown away from guns at Maler Kotla without trial. That these persons had been guilty of a great crime there is no doubt, but both the manner of the execution and its excessive and indiscriminate severity stand in need of the strongest justification. In the opinion of His Excellency in Council nothing short of absolute necessity could justify these proceedings. If any judicial enquiry, however summary, had taken place, a distinction might have been made between ringleaders and followers, and the usual mode of punishment would have been employed. At the time when the extra-judicial execution was ordered the disturbance which had taken place had been effectually suppressed. Mr. Cowan had at his disposal considerable bodies of troops, and there is no evidence whatever to show that actual immediate danger was or could have been apprehended either from the prisoners themselves, or from other members of the sect to which they belonged. The only fact which can be said to suggest the existence of such danger is, that various small bodies of Kukas were seen in the neighbourhood of Maler Kotla, who promptly disappeared. It appears, however, to His Excellency in Council that their dispersion was owing to the defeat of their associates, and not to the summary punishment inflicted, and in this belief he is supported by the view taken

by His Honor in your letter of the 7th February above quoted, paragraph 10, in which it is said—

The Lieutenant-Governor is not of opinion that the evidence now submitted indicates that the immediate retirement of the bands of Kukás who were observed moving towards Kotla was the result of the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, for in nearly every instance they are said to have gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. Their retirement appears to have been caused really by the attack having been beaten off by the Kotla people.

4. It is, in short, obvious, both from the circumstances of the case and from many expressions in Mr. Cowan's letters, that his motive in ordering the executions was to prevent a rising which he considered imminent by an act calculated to strike terror into the whole Kuka sect. In illustration of this, it is to be observed that both Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan refer to the small effects which the execution of the Raikot murderers in due course of law had had in the way of deterring the Kukas from further violence.

5. Before adverting to the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, the Governor-General in Council thinks it right to make some general observations on the principle on which that officer seems to have proceeded, as His Excellency in Council has reason to fear that it may have considerable influence on the minds of officers who feel themselves liable to be placed in positions of difficulty. This principle, *perhaps rather felt than avowed, is that law is meant only for quiet times, and that officers are justified in disregarding it as soon as political danger is apprehended, and substituting punishments* inflicted at their own discretion and without any other measure than their own estimate, formed on the spot under the pressure of immediate excitement, of what is required in the particular case for the sake of example.

6. This view appears to His Excellency in Council to involve a grave error.

7. His Excellency in Council desires to impress in the most emphatic manner on all civil and military officers whom it may concern the broad principle that the law of the land administered by the established courts is the instrument to which Government looks, and in which it trusts, for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace, and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors; and that it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide upon the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society, or that the punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular offences with exceptional severity, or to arm particular officers with special powers of summary trial and execution; but, till this is done, the duty of all civil and military officers in all cases is to treat criminals when captured in the regular course of law, that is to say, to hand them over for trial to the proper tribunals.

8. In order to show that this course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required in the most

arduous circumstances, it is necessary to bear in mind that for the suppression of violent crime, and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorizes and indeed requires the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. Rebels with arms in their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen, and all who aid and abet them may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as armed invaders may be attacked. If their behaviour and number is such that it would, upon military grounds, be improper to grant them quarter if they were engaged in ordinary war, they might be killed upon the spot. In short, there is no severity which by the usages of war may be inflicted upon the enemies' troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up, which may not in strict accordance with law be inflicted upon bands of criminals, whether rebels or not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest.

9. The one thing which cannot be permitted to any civil or military officer in any case whatever, is the irregular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator. No such officer has right to punish his prisoners, still less has he any right to punish them according to a law made by himself, after the fact, and in reference to the circumstances of a particular case. The law authorizes officers to do whatever is necessary in order to suppress crime and arrest criminals, but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoners, when taken, as they think proper.

10. Officers may perhaps be assisted in understanding and applying to particular cases, as they arise, the principles above stated by a few observations on the policy which they are meant to carry out.

11. To administer justice with mercy is the fixed and settled policy of the Government of India, but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberation and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement, and with little time for reflection, are liable to be neither just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for acts of vigour when they are in truth acts of weakness. Such orders frequently show that those who give them doubt their own strength, and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents.

12. The Governor-General in Council cannot consent to assume the attitude in which the ratifications of such acts would place him. His Excellency in Council trusts, on the one hand, in the effect which a course of just and merciful rule cannot fail to produce in time in the minds of the people. He relies, on the other hand, on the existence of a military force sufficient to protect the mass of quiet and well-disposed persons against the small minority who for whatever reasons might be willing to plunge the country into anarchy and civil war.

13. His Excellency in Council cannot consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime, and there is no occasion for indiscriminate

severity nor in any case could the exercise of such severity be a source of strength.

14. With reference to the special circumstances of Mr. Cowan's case, His Excellency in Council has to observe as follows :—

15. In the first place His Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Referring to the principles already stated, there is no circumstance which tends to justify or even greatly to excuse Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded. They had surrendered to very inferior numbers, and were under the guard of a considerable military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse. His Excellency in Council cannot regard as an excuse Mr. Cowan's belief that the execution was politically expedient. In fact that he set aside the existing law, because he thought it expedient to do so in the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which His Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed.

16. There are, however, other matters in connection with Mr. Cowan's conduct which it is impossible to pass over, and which have been in part brought to His Excellency's notice at a very late stage in the proceedings. The following references to the documents on record will set this in a clear light.

17. On the 16th January Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men in a summary manner.

18. On the same day Mr. Forsyth wrote Mr. Cowan a demi-official note which has been lost, in which Mr. Forsyth directed Mr. Cowan to send the prisoners to Sherpur to be kept until Mr. Forsyth could send a guard to take charge of them. Mr. Forsyth believes that this letter said that the guard was to take them into Ludiánah for trial. Mr. Cowan believes that trial was not referred to. Be this as it may, the letter reached Mr. Cowan some hours before any of the executions took place. He says,—" I put the note in my pocket and thought no more about it. It contained only a suggestion which could not be acted on, for the captured Kukas were then close to Kotla on their way in." This conduct would imply that in Mr. Cowan's opinion the main point of the note was that the men should be sent to Sherpur, whereas it should have been also apparent to Mr. Cowan that Mr. Forsyth desired that the men should be kept in custody.

19. The executions, therefore, cannot be reconciled with the spirit of Mr. Forsyth's instruction, and took place before any reply had been received to a telegraphic message sent by Mr. Cowan the day before to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men only.

20. Before the executions were finished, and whilst six or seven men were tied to the guns, Mr. Cowan received an official letter containing a positive order from Mr. Forsyth to proceed according to law. Mr. Forsyth's words were—" I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment, and

I shall then give immediate orders. But with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand." Upon this Mr. Cowan says,—"After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter I handed it to Colonel Perkins, District Superintendent of Police, with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to guns; that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us."

21. His Excellency in Council cannot see that there could have been any serious difficulty in staying the execution without even communicating the reasons for doing so to the by-standers. It was Mr. Cowan's clear duty to obey Mr. Forsyth's order in a case in which the lives of six or seven persons were at stake, and where the act forbidden was upon the face of it illegal.

22. While the Governor-General in Council recognizes that the lives of all the criminals involved in the recent outbreak in the Punjab were in principle forfeited to the laws, His Excellency is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterized by incidents which gave it a complexion of barbarity. That course was commenced in opposition to the spirit of instructions received from superior authority, and, in the absence of sanction, invoked but not awaited; it was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.

23. Under all these circumstances, His Excellency in Council is compelled to direct that Mr. Cowan be removed from the Service. He does so with deep regret, as Mr. Cowan's previous character and conduct have been unexceptionable, and as he acted with promptitude in concerting measures for the repression of the movement.

24. It remains now to consider the case of Mr. Forsyth in reference to the approval passed by him on the act of Mr. Cowan, and to the confirmation by him as Commissioner of Ambálah of the sentence passed by the Native officials of the Maler Kotla State with the concurrence of Mr. Cowan against sixteen other prisoners.

25. In confirming this sentence, and in ordering the immediate execution of the prisoners, Mr. Forsyth was acting in a political rather than in a judicial capacity. It is the duty of officers so situated to be specially on their guard against permitting the Native States which are under their superintendence to act with a degree of harshness or precipitation alien to the spirit of English rule; and although Mr. Forsyth's proceedings were no doubt legal, that fact alone ought not to protect him from censure, if his proceedings showed a want of that merciful discrimination which ought in all cases to be characteristic of the British administration of justice. In this Mr. Forsyth seems to His Excellency in Council to have failed, and the failure was apparently due to his having permitted a not unnatural desire to support a subordinate, to assume undue prominence in his mind in a case where interests of far greater importance were concerned.

26. On the morning of January 17th, Mr. Forsyth had telegraphed to the Punjab Government as follows :—

"Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed, &c., &c."

27. On the night of the 16th he wrote a demi-official letter, which reached Mr. Cowan before the execution. On the 17th he wrote two separate letters, one official and one demi-official ; the first directing Mr. Cowan, and the second requesting him in the most pressing, though in most friendly terms, not to proceed illegally. On the 18th, having received the report of the executions, he gave an unqualified confirmation of all that Mr. Cowan had done, in the following terms : "My dear Cowan,—I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out." Mr. Forsyth thus anticipated without necessity the opinions of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Government of India, committed superior authorities as far as he could to sentiments which might be repugnant to their judgment, and directly reversed his own distinct resolution formed and expressed up to that moment. On the same day he confirmed the sentence of the Maler Kotla authorities, and ordered the immediate execution of the 16 men condemned by them, a course which was not warranted by the necessity of making a further example, or by the character of the parties concerned, among whom various shades of guilt might by a less cursory enquiry have been discovered.

28. In Mr. Forsyth's explanation of the course taken by him, he says in his letter of the 8th April 1872—

"I take this opportunity to make some remarks explanatory of the sentence carried into execution against the 16 men on the 18th January.

"When the case was submitted for my orders, I had to consider it in its judicial aspect, as well as from a political point of view.

"Now, taking the judicial view of the case as it stood by itself, quite apart from all other considerations, 16 men, belonging to a gang who had committed a double series of murders, were pronounced to be guilty of the charge preferred against them. The sentence for their crime was death ; and, had the case been tried in the courts governed by our Codes, it would have been incumbent on me to show very good cause why that sentence should be mitigated. Had the case then been a solitary one, there would have been no more ground for hesitating to confirm a sentence of death passed on 16 men than there would have been last year for the Chief Court to hesitate to pass sentence on 12 men for the murder of the butchers.

"I had, however, to consider all the surrounding circumstances, and the first one which would naturally influence me was the fact that so many men had already suffered for the same offence. But there were counterbalancing arguments which I now propose to re-produce."

"One consideration was that, if the case admitted of it, Mr. Cowan ought to be supported. However much I might have deprecated his proposed action, and inwardly deplored it when as yet not taken, still when once done I felt myself placed in an entirely different and, it will be readily conceded, in a most difficult position. To hastily disavow his proceedings, and to cancel his acts at such a moment, I considered would be most unwise."

He adds in subsequent paragraphs that he had had a conversation with Rám Singh, which gave him a strong impression of the serious character of the outbreak ; that whilst the sentences was awaiting sanction, he heard a report of Kuka bands being in the neighbourhood ; and that the Sardár of Maloudh pressed him to pass sentence of death. The prominent feeling in his mind, however, seems to have been that

Mr. Cowan ought to be supported in an act which Mr. Forsyth himself had repeatedly forbidden.

29. In conformity with the views enunciated above, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that, while Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of any illegal action, he has in no small degree identified himself with the errors committed by Mr. Cowan; that he failed to discern his duty as counsellor to a Native Government in a serious emergency; and that he acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognized policy of the Government of India.

30. His Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth's conduct will be adequately dealt with by his removal from the Commissionership of Ambálah to a position in another Province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any Native State, and by an expression of the opinion of the Government of India that he ought not in future to be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence.

31. The Governor-General in Council is constrained to notice with regret that two documents essential to the information of the Supreme Government in this case were not brought to his knowledge in regular course and at the commencement of this correspondence, *viz.*, the demi-official letter written by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 16th January, since mislaid, and the letter addressed by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 18th confirming his proceedings.

32. It is with great concern that His Excellency in Council feels compelled to pass orders which affect so seriously officers whose fault has no doubt been due mainly to over-zeal for the maintenance of peace and order, but he considers it absolutely necessary to cause it to be understood that, whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measures, however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of the peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion. The line between the two things is broad and clear, and the Governor-General in Council would be equally prompt to notice any remissness in the use of the means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice. He has no fear that the course which it has been necessary to take with regard to the present case will deter other officers from a becoming energy and promptitude in the presence of danger. On the other hand, His Excellency in Council fears as little that the course now taken will be misunderstood by the Native population. He trusts that this example will teach them that under British rule all alike must obey the law, and they may be well assured that the punishment now inflicted on a British officer who has broken the law is not in any way connected with indifference or indulgence to the crimes of those whom he punished unlawfully. Their offence was deserving of exemplary punishment, though it should have been inflicted in a proper manner with greater moderation and with more discrimination between the degrees of guilt of the persons concerned. And lastly, His Excellency trusts the present decision will make it clear to all classes that such proceedings as Mr. Cowan's are forbidden by law, and are bad in policy, because they leave no time for moderation and discrimination, and so take away the distinc-

tion between the deliberate satisfaction of the requirements of justice, and a hasty acceptance of the suggestions of excitement and alarm.

33. In communicating this review of the conduct of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, the Governor-General in Council considers it due to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to refer to the sentiments enunciated by His Honor in connection with those which His Excellency in Council has felt bound to record. The Lieutenant-Governor, from the first, embraced and expressed the opinion that the conduct of Mr. Cowan was unjustifiable in regard to the precipitation, illegality and indiscriminate rigour of his proceedings. A consideration of the exciting circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, of the political danger which he apprehended, and of the necessity of supporting officers of Government in acts even of excessive severity when done in good faith and for the public interest, induced the Lieutenant-Governor to withhold an expression of blame which would have been otherwise in accordance with his sentiments, and of which the Governor-General in Council would have approved. His Excellency is, however, happy to be able to recognize that there is no essential difference between the views entertained by the Governor-General in Council and those of the high officer entrusted with the administration and security of a Province so important as the Punjab.

MEMORANDUM.

Mr. Forsyth's letters, dated 19th January and 20th January, to Secretary, Punjab Government.

ON the 11th and 12th of January last, a body of Kukas from the neighbouring country, but chiefly from the Patiála territory, assembled at Bhaini, the residence of Rám Singh, the Kuka Guru, to celebrate a festival locally known as the Lohri.

Mr. Forsyth's letter, dated 19th January, to Secretary, Chief Commissioner.

That this assemblage was intended, was known to the local authorities, who contented themselves apparently with watching it, though a verbal report seems to have been made by the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Punjab Government.

Mr. Forsyth's letter, dated 19th January (paragraph 2), to Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

It seems to have been anticipated that about 200 men would be present at Bhaini. According to Rám Singh's statement to Mr. Forsyth, about 1,000 actually assembled.

Early on the 13th January it was reported to the Police Officer (a Deputy Inspector) of the neighbouring Police post of Sánehwál that about 100 of these men had separated themselves from the rest, had worked themselves into a state of desperation, and had expressed their intention of attacking Maler Kotla, in revenge for the execution, a few weeks previously, in connection with the murder of butchers at Raikot, of one Gyani Singh, an influential Kuka, much trusted by Rám Singh.

The Deputy Inspector at once visited Bhaini, and found the report correct. Rám Singh acknowledged the facts to be true, professed his inability to control the men, and even addressed a harangue to them by way of dissuasion.

Mr. Forsyth's letter, dated 20th January (paragraph 4).
Deposition of Sarfráz Khan—enclosure of letter from the Government of the Punjab, No. 79 C., dated 14th February, to Home Secretary.
Mr. Cowan's letters to Mr. Forsyth, dated 15th January, paragraphs 1 and 2.

About 2 P. M. on the 13th the party who had separated themselves, and who were under the leadership of Híra Singh and Lehna Singh—two petty Zemindárs of the Patiála State—left Bhaini. The Deputy Inspector told off a Sergeant of Police merely to watch them out of British territory, and came himself into Ludiánah to report the facts to the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Cowan.

Mr. Cowan at once warned the Vakíls of the Patiála and Maler Kotla State of the occurrence.

In the meanwhile the party marched on the 13th to Rabbu, in the Patiála State, a village distant from Maloudh about three or four miles.

Statement of Bhagwán Singh, accused—enclosure of letter No. 79 C., dated 14th February, from Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to Secretary to the Government, of India, Home Department.

It appears that Maler Kotla was selected as the first point of attack, because money, arms, and horses would, it was expected, be found there, and because the Chief had recently died, and, the succession being disputed, it was hoped that the administration would be found weak and off their guard.

That night and the next day the party halted at Rabbu, and late in the afternoon of the 14th started for Maler Kotla.

See deposition of Sardár Baddan Singh—enclosure of letter No. 79 C, dated 14th February, from Secy. to Government of the Punjab.

On the way some one suggested an attack on Maloudh, for the sake mainly, it would seem, of getting money, horses, and arms, but also partly apparently from hostility to the Sardár and to the Máharája of Patiála, his kinsman, on account of the assistance given by them in the conviction of the Raikot murderers.

Deposition as above, also deposition of Dhoukal Singh—enclosure in same letter.

Just about dark they arrived at Maloudh, and succeeded by a rush in making good their entry into the Fort. Some of them seized the Sardár's son, Sardár Baddan Singh, who was slightly wounded in several places by sword-cuts before he succeeded in wresting a gandása or axe from one of his assailants and freeing himself from their grasp.

Deposition of Sardár Baddan Singh quoted above.

Another party took their way to the treasury, where, failing in their search for money and arms, they wantonly killed a Munshi whom they found seated there.

Deposition of Kishna—enclosure as above.
Deposition of Dasaundhi—enclosure as above.
Evidence of Dewá Singh, Rám Singh, Sundar Singh, and statements of Bhagwán Singh, Gyani Singh, Thaman Singh, and Mehr Singh accused;

A third party visited the stables, whence they took two mares, having killed the groom in charge. While these things were passing, however, an alarm had spread, the people of the place collected, and commenced to attack the Kukas, who, having collected a few arms, retired, leaving two of their party killed and four prisoners in the hands of the Maloudh

also Mr. Forsyth's judgment on these accused.

people; a few of the latter and several of the Kukas were also more or less hurt in the affray.

Retiring from Maloudh, the Kukas pressed on to Maler Kotla, where they arrived about 7 A. M. on the morning of the 15th. Intimation of the intended attack had reached Maler Kotla the preceding day; patrols were placed round the town during the night, and the guards at the gates strengthened; but no attack having been made, these men were recalled at daylight.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 15, dated 17th January.

The Kukas made a vigorous attack, and, surmounting the ruined wall, made their way to the palace and to the treasury. Here they had barely time to seize a few arms and break open one cupboard filled with records, when they were confronted by Ahmad Khán, the Kotwál or Head Police Officer of Maler Kotla, who, with inferior numbers, attacked the Kukas, and a well-contested fight ensued. Ahmad Khán fell dead with seven of his followers, 15 others being wounded, but the stand made enabled the townspeople to rally, and the Kukas, having obtained only two horses and a few swords, were forced to retire. They left behind them seven dead and five prisoners, and, as it afterwards proved, 29 of their party were wounded, several very severely, at either Maloudh or Maler Kotla, or in the retreat from the latter place.

Their total number had probably never much exceeded 100, or at most 125, and fully one-third were either killed, captured, or disabled in the two attacks, both of which had failed in their main object.

The gang therefore retired, dispirited, to a village in the Patiála territory called Rúr, about 12 miles from Maler Kotla. On their arrival at Rúr, they took up their position in a piece of jungle about 300 paces from that village, the Jat inhabitants of which with their wives and families, abandoned it in a panic.

They were pursued as far as Rúr, losing several wounded by the way, by some of the Kotla people. Here, however, alarmed by the rumour of an intention on the part of the Kukas to renew the attack on Kotla, the Kotla people checked the pursuit and returned home.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth, dated 17th January, No. 15.
Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins to Mr. Cowan, dated 28th January.

Deposition of Punjab Singh, Lambardár of Rámnagar—enclosure of letter No. 76 C., dated 14th February, from Secretary to Punjab Government to Secretary, Home Department.

Meanwhile the headman of the neighbouring village of Rámnagar had hastened to the Patiála Fort of Sherpúr, and besought the interference of the Naib Nazim of Amargarh, who was then at Sherpúr, one Niáz Ali.

Niáz Ali at once proceeded with three sowárs and a writer to Rúr. On arrival at the spot where the Kukas were, he summoned them to give up their arms and surrender. Niáz Ali says,—"the villagers had all fled out of fear. I asked them where they had come from; they said they had come from attacking Maloudh and Kotla. I told them to give up their arms; some agreed, some disputed * * At last they gave up sixteen talwárs, one spear, and a number of gandásas (axes) and sticks. I arrested them and took them to Sherpúr * * * * * * * * I told them it was no use to resist; that though they might overpower me, the Máharája would not leave a man alive. After

Deposition of Niáz Ali—also an enclosure as above.

taking the arms, I collected a number of men and escorted the Kukas of Sherpúr, four koss from Rúr."

Mr. Cowan questions the accuracy of Niáz Ali's account, and declares that he was followed by other horsemen, and also by some of the Jat villagers of Rúr who had previously fled. Sixty-six men and two women gave themselves up. Twenty-two of the men were wounded, most of them slightly.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth, dated 17th February, paragraph 4.
Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth, No. 16, dated 17th January.

With this surrender to Niáz Ali, the Kuka raid may be said to have come to an end.

It seems indeed probable that, the rumour of the enterprise having spread, others of the Kuka sect had set out to join the assailants. Mr. Forsyth testifies to having seen Kukas at three railway stations on his way to Ludiánah on the 16th. Several persons depose also to seeing small bodies of Kukas in the neighbourhood of Maler Kotla on the evening of the 15th; and on the 16th five were actually captured, concealed in a village near Maler Kotla. These last were, however, possibly fugitives from the attacking party.

Mr. Forsyth's letter No. ——, dated 19th January, to Secretary, Punjab Government, paragraph 5.
Mr. Cowan's letter, dated 17th February, enclosed in Lieutenant-Governor's letter No. 648, dated 28th February.
See depositions 14 to 30, inclusive, appended to letter of Secretary to Punjab Government, No. 59 C., dated 2nd February, to Secretary to Government, Home Department.

One witness also states that he *heard* of Kukas being in some force in the neighbourhood on the 18th, but there is no direct evidence of any Kukas having been seen near Maler Kotla, even as fugitives, after the 16th.

Petition from Nazim of Maler Kotla, dated 6th February—enclosure in letter of Punjab Government, No. 65 C., dated 10th February, to Secretary, Government, Home Department.

It was generally believed, however, that one or two of Rám Singh's Subhas, who left Bhaini contemporaneously with or shortly after the march of the party on Rabbu, did so with the intention of having their followers ready in case of the success of the expedition, but of this there is no positive evidence except that of one of the men captured at Maloudh.

Mr. Cowan's Memorandum of the 30th January—enclosure in letter from Punjab Government No. 59 C., dated 7th February.
Deposition No. 12, attached to letter above quoted.
Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 28, dated 26th January, paragraph 6.

When the outbreak occurred, Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of the District, was at his head-quarters, Ludiánah. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, was at Dehli with the camp of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. As has been seen, the news first was received by Mr. Cowan on the night of the 13th from the Deputy Inspector, Sarfráz Ali, who came in from Bhaini to report the departure of the party with the avowed intention of rebellious action.

Mr. Cowan blamed the Inspector for not following the party or causing it to be followed up beyond the limit of British territory. It does not, however, appear whether the Deputy Commissioner took any action on the 14th January. Some time, apparently early, on the 15th, Mr. Cowan received intimation of the affair at Maloudh. He telegraphed directly to the Punjab Government, expressing his intention to go to the spot at once. Mr. Cowan arrived at

Mr. Cowan's letter to the Commissioner, No. 14, dated 15th.
Telegram from Mr. Cowan, to Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 15th.
Colonel Perkins' report of 5th February.

Maloudh on the afternoon of the 15th, having on the road thither learnt of the attack on Maler Kotla.

Paragraph 8 of Mr. Cowan's letter No. 15, dated 17th January.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Governor, to Viceroy, dated 16th January, 11-50 A. M.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 15, dated 17th January, paragraph 3.

Mr. Cowan then again telegraphed both to Jálandhar and to the Lieutenant-Governor for troops, and applied for assistance also to the Chief of Nábha, and (then or a little later) to the Rája of Jínd and the Máharája of Patiála. On the evening of the 15th and early part of the 16th Mr. Cowan appears to have been employed in taking evidence against the prisoners captured at Maloudh. Seven men were brought before him, but he considered the case against the four men only who had been taken prisoners to be conclusive.

Colonel Perkins' report of the 6th February.

Mr. Cowan further summoned Rám Singh to meet him at Maloudh, and Rám Singh obeyed the summons ; but the Deputy Commissioner, being anxious to push on to Kotla, dismissed him and told him he would be sent for to Ludiánah if wanted.

On the 16th Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute the four men regarding whose guilt, after his investigation, he entertained no doubt.

Colonel Perkins' diary of the 17th January,—enclosures in letter No. 23C., of the 19th January, from Punjab, to Government of India, Home Department.

Afterwards he started for Maler Kotla. On the road Mr. Cowan received intelligence of the bulk of the Kukas having been "surrounded" at Rúr, and telegraphed to the Punjab Government not to send the troops previously asked for. As he got nearer to Maler Kotla, he met the troops sent by the Rájas of Jínd and Nábha ; a contingent had also been sent by the Máharája of Patiála. It is nowhere stated what was the extent of these contingents ; but, as according to Mr. Cowan's first letter of the 17th, they consisted of artillery, cavalry and infantry, their total numbers, with the addition of the Maler Kotla troops, must have been considerable.

At any rate six guns appear to have been at Mr. Cowan's disposal, for at least six persons were, as will be seen, lashed to guns at one time.

Colonel Perkins' diary as above.

Mr. Cowan also met the Naib Nazim of Amargarh, and learned from him the particulars of the capture of the 68 Kukas at Rúr, and the fact that they had been detained for the night in safe custody at the Patiála Fort of Sherpúr, distant about 18 or 19 miles from Maler Kotla.

Mr. Cowan desired the Naib Nazim to bring his prisoners at once from Sherpúr to Maler Kotla.

On arriving at Maler Kotla, and after making some enquiries, Mr. Cowan learned by a telegram received from Mr. Forsyth, which is not on record, dated the 15th, that Mr. Forsyth was then either at or on his way to Ludiánah, and he wrote to him to the following effect :—

"*Camp Kotla, January 16th*, 7-30 *p. m.*—In reply to your telegram "of yesterday's date, informing me that you would be at Ludiánah this "evening, and directing me to send a report to meet you there, which

" telegram has just been received by me, I have the honor to report that " tranquillity has been completely restored, and that there is no necessity " for you to come to Kotla.

" The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterize " them, never numbered more than 125. Of these there were at Maloudh " 2 killed, 4 captured; at Kotla, 8 killed, 31 wounded; of these " wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time, but 68, including 27 wounded, have " been captured in the Patiála State at Rúr, a village twelve miles from this.

" The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing " away from guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at day-break.

" Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere " murder and dacoity; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance " to constituted authority; and, to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is " absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. " I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur; but I am satisfied that I " act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out " at once."

Arrangements were made by the Punjab Government with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was then at Dehli, to send troops to Maler Kotla, and a detachment of Cavalry was at once sent off to assist in the capture of Rám Singh, whom with the Chief Subhas the Lieutenant-Governor decided to have arrested at once. These proceedings were reported to and approved by the Government of India.

Mr. Forsyth, who, as has been said, was at Dehli with the Lieutenant-Governor when the news reached him on the 15th, after receiving instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor, started for Ludiánah by the train which left Dehli before day-break on the 16th, arriving at Ludiánah that evening.

Letter from Mr. Forsyth, to Secretary to the Government, Punjab, No. 153, dated 8th April, paragraphs 1 and 2.

On his arrival at Ludiánah Mr. Forsyth received intelligence of the capture of 68 Kukas by Niáz Ali, and at once wrote a demi-official note to Mr. Cowan desiring that the prisoners should be kept at Sherpur till he could send out a guard to bring them to Ludiánah. Mr. Forsyth says he added the words "for trial." Mr. Cowan thinks that these words did not form part of the letter.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Secretary, Punjab Government, dated 8th April, paragraph 3.

Mr. Forsyth's letter No. 153, of the 8th April, paragraph 3.

Very early in the morning, 5-2 A. M. of the 17th, Mr. Cowan's telegram of the previous day, in which he asked permission from the Punjab Government to execute the four men he had examined at Maloudh, reached the Ludiánah Telegraph Office. About three-quarters of an hour later, Mr. Forsyth sent another telegram to the Punjab Government, which contained the following words:—

" Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once " four men. Since then we have got seventy men. I am on the spot, and " can dispose of the cases according to form and without delay. Exceptional " action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed."

Mr. Forysth's letter of 17th January, to Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Simultaneously with the arrival of Mr. Cowan's telegram, that is about 5 A. M. on the 17th, Mr. Forsyth received the letter of the 16th above given from Mr. Cowan.

Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 8th April.

Mr. Forsyth waited till noon of the 17th for an answer from the Punjab

Government to the two telegrams from himself and from Mr. Cowan, and then, having received no reply* (owing to a delay in the Telegraph Department), wrote an official letter to Mr. Cowan, of which the following is an extract:—"As regards offences committed in Maler "Kotla, the authorities there have full power to try and sentence criminals, "sending the case up to the Commissioner for sanction where the sentence "is capital punishment. I request that you will at once prepare the case "against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment, and I "shall then give immediate orders. But, with reference to your expressed "desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the "abandonment of the very simple form of procedure which we have at "hand. I purpose proceeding to Maler Kotla very shortly."

* This reply was not received till late on the night of the 17th, and approved Mr. Forsyth's views.

A little later he sent a private letter couched in the following terms:

"My dear Cowan,—You have done admirably, but for heaven's sake don't "let the whole thing fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

"By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotla "territory, they can be hanged legally, without the delay of sending the "case to the Chief Court, by attending to the form usual in all such cases, "*i. e.*, sending up the proceedings to me, and, to save time and trouble, I "am going out to Kotla as soon as I have disposed of Rám Singh. But if you "hang (yourself) these men, *i. e.*, the men caught at Maloudh, you will fall short "of perfect success; a delay of 12 hours cannot produce harm, whereas illegal "action may cause trouble. I only wait "for Rám Singh to come in to-morrow "morning, and I shall then be out at once."

Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 8th April.

Meanwhile, on the morning of the 17th, Mr. Cowan wrote a long letter to Mr. Forsyth, to the same effect as his short letter of the previous day, but in much greater detail. The first seven paragraphs contain a succinct and accurate summary of the outbreak.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 15, dated 17th January.

In the 8th paragraph Mr. Cowan said,—"When first I heard of the attack "on Kotla, the situation appeared to me to be a very grave one, and I tele- "graphed that troops might be sent * * * * * It "looked like the commencement of an insurrection, and I trust that I shall "not be thought to have caused unnecessary alarm by my first reports."

Mr. Cowan then proceeds to give further details of the prisoners, and of their defeat and capture; his 10th paragraph closing with these words,—"At least two-thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded "or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermin, and many more "of them will be taken;" and his letter terminated with the following words: "I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of the prisoners "from Rúr. I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in the "attacks on Maloudh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility "which I incur in exercising a power which is not vested in me, but the case "is an exceptional one. These men are not ordinary criminals. They are "rebels, having for their immediate object the acquisition of plunder and "ulteriorly the subversion of order. It is certain that, had their first "attempts been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming them- "selves, and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have "been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their "extinction would not be effected without much trouble. By the timely

"preparations at Kotla their efforts were defeated, and by the active exertions "of the Patiála officials this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped "out; but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an "example, and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and "terrible. I have every confidence then that the Government of the "Punjab will approve of the immediate execution of those prisoners who "have been taken red-handed."

Letter from Mr. Cowan to the Secretary, Punjab Government, dated 8th April, paragraph 8.

About noon of the 17th, whether before or after he despatched the above letter is not made clear, Mr. Cowan was riding through the town of Maler Kotla, when he received Mr. Forsyth's first demi-official note (which has been lost), and which desired Mr. Cowan to keep the prisoners at Sherpur till a guard could be sent from Ludiánah.

Letter dated 8th April, paragraph 3.

Mr. Cowan says of this note: "I put the note in my pocket and thought "no more about it. It contained only "a suggestion which could not be acted "upon, for the captured Kukas were then close to Kotla on their way in."

Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins' Diary of the 17th January.

It was late in the afternoon, about 4 P. M., when the prisoners arrived at Maler Kotla, and Mr. Cowan must have proceeded almost at once to carry out his expressed intentions, for the whole of the executions were over by 7 P. M. After the last six or seven men had been already lashed to the guns, preparatory to blowing them away, Mr. Cowan received Mr. Forsyth's official order to send up the men to him for trial. Mr. Cowan, says: "After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter, I handed it to Colonel "Perkins with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution "of the men already tied to the guns; that such a proceeding would have "the worst effect on the people around us."

Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins's Diary.

Letter of 8th April, paragraph 2.

After the execution was over, Mr. Cowan also received Mr. Forsyth's private letter, begging him not to proceed summarily. Mr. Cowan's own account of the execution is contained in the letter which he wrote to Mr. Forsyth on the evening of the 17th:

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 16, dated 17th January.

"In continuation of my letter to your address of this morning's date, I "have the honor to report to you that 68 "rebel Kukas were brought in to-day from "Rúr. Of these two were women, leav- "ing 66 men: 22 of the men were wound- "ed, most of them slightly."

See also Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins' Diary of 17th April.

"2. The conduct of these prisoners was most defiant and unruly; "they poured forth the most abusive "language towards the Government and "the Chiefs of Native States. *All of "them* admitted that they were present at the attacks on Maloudh and Kotla, "and gloried in the act. They said that they had attacked Maloudh for the "purpose of procuring arms, and Kotla because their religion required them "to slay the killers of cows."

"3. The two women were residents of Patiála State, and I made them "over to the Officer Commanding the Patiála troops for conveyance to Patiála; "49 of the rebels were blown away from guns this afternoon on the parade- "ground of the Kotla Chief in the presence of the troops of the Patiála, Nábha,

"Jínd, and Kotla States. It was my intention to have had 50 men blown "away, and to have sent the remaining 16 rebels to Maloudh, to be executed "there to-morrow, but one man escaped from the guards, and made a furious "attack upon me, seizing me by the beard, and endeavouring to strangle me; "and, as he was a very powerful man, I had "considerable difficulty in releasing my-"self. He then made a savage attack on "some officers of the Native States who "were standing near me. These officers drew their swords and cut him down."

See also Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins' Diary of 17th January.

"4. This was a most painful duty, and it was made inexpressibly "painful to me by the receipt of your letter of to-day's date, received as the "last batch was being tied to the guns, desiring me to make an inquiry "and to forward the proceedings to you for punishment. In carrying out the "execution of my own sentence, I acted in the honest and sincere conviction "that I was acting in the best interests of Government."

"A rebellion which might have attained large dimensions was nipped in "the bud, and a terrible and prompt punishment was, in my opinion, "absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of a similar rising."

"5. I most sincerely trust that you will after this explanation approve "of what I have done. I am placed in a most difficult position here with "reference to the 16 rebels who have remained unpunished. It was, as I "have stated, my intention to have sent them for execution to Maloudh to-morrow, "and I earnestly beg that you will sanction my carrying out (my) sentence at "once. I believe that these executions *have had* and will have a most happy "effect on the people of these parts; their shouts and remarks wherever "I go all show this."

"6. I purpose dismissing to-morrow morning to their respective States "the troops assembled here, and shall remain here till noon to-morrow in "the hope of receiving an order from you sanctioning my carrying out "sentence on the remaining Kuka rebels. Should you not accord this "sanction, I will make inquiry and forward to you for orders."

P. S.—"Among the rebels blown away were Híra Singh and Lehna "Singh, the leaders of the gang and instigators of the outbreak."

A further postscript mentions the arrest of a Subha and three other Kukas in the neighbourhood, which, however, is not a material circumstance.

During this interval Mr. Forsyth was still at Ludiánah; he had been charged with the duty of placing under detention Rám Singh, the Kuka Guru, and he waited to effect this important object.

Demi-official from Captain Menzies, dated Ludiánah, 18th January, enclosure in letter from Secretary to the Punjab Government, No. 23 C., dated 19th January, to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

It was, however, effected at 2 P. M. on the morning of the 18th January, and Rám Singh was despatched by train to Dehli at 4 A. M. the same morning. Shortly afterwards Mr. Forsyth with a detachment of the 12th Bengal Cavalry left for Maloudh.

Mr. Forsyth's letters to Secretary, Punjab Government, 18th January and 8th April 1872.

In the interim he had examined Rám Singh, who professed that his sect had passed wholly beyond his control.

Before leaving Ludiánah he addressed the following letter to Mr. Cowan, in reply to his official letter No. 16 given above :—

"My dear Cowan,—I fully approve and confirm all you have done. "You have acted admirably. I am coming out."

On the 18th, whether before or after Mr. Forsyth's arrival is not clear, Mr. Cowan, sitting with the Nazim and Tahsíldár of Kotla, held a formal inquiry into the case of the 16 men yet remaining.

Mr. Forsyth's final proceeding, enclosure in letter from Punjab Government, No. 76 C., dated 14th February.

Mr. Cowan's order was as follows:

"The whole of the accused in this case were captured immediately "after the attack on the town of Kotla. They had in their possession arms "which were deeply stained with blood, and property stolen from the State "of Kotla and the Sardár of Maloudh."

"The whole of the accused make admissions which amount to confes-"sion of guilt, and of their guilt no reasonable doubt can be even traced. The "offences these men have committed are no ordinary ones. They have "committed an act of open rebellion, and deserve the severest penalty of the "law. I commit the accused for punishment to the Commissioner and Agent "for the Kotla State."

Mr. Forsyth appears at once to have perused the record, and to have appended his remarks to each deposition and statement, and finally, after summing up the evidence on which the case rested, recorded judgment in the following terms:—

"It is impossible to discriminate now between those who actually "struck the blow which caused the death of these men, nor at this moment "would it be wise to display leniency towards a gang, every one of whom is, "according to law, liable to the same punishment."

"The intentions of the gang are clearly indicated by their leader, Rám "Singh,—*vide* the statement made to me at Ludiánah on the 18th. As "regards the prisoners 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16, their statements "are ample confessions of their being actually inside Kotla. Nos. 8 and 9 "admit being at Kotla; Nos 6, 11 and 14 admit being with the gang when "caught, and their admissions, coupled with the statements of 3 and 4, leave "no doubt in my mind that they were of the gang, and are, therefore, equally "liable to punishment. I concur with the committing officer, and confirm "the sentence of death against all, to be carried out into immediate execu-"tion."

The sixteen remaining prisoners were accordingly hanged the same day. Mr. Forsyth the next day proceeded to Maloudh, where he tried the four prisoners for whose immediate execution Mr. Cowan had, in the first instance, pressed. After convicting, Mr. Forsyth recorded his opinion as follows:—

Colonel Perkins' report, dated 6th February.

"For two reasons I hesitate to put in force the extreme penalty of the "law. Severe examples have just been made at Maler Kotla, and there "is room now for a display of clemency."

"The second reason is that all the prisoners are more or less severely "wounded; two have broken limbs, and possibly the life of one is in danger. "I remit the sentence of death, and pass a sentence of transportation for "life against the prisoners."

These sentences are all of which any record is before the Government of India; it is not said what became of the prisoners originally captured at Maler Kotla itself, but of these at least one was dangerously wounded.

Civil Surgeon's report attached to record of trial, paragraph 11.

The first news of the attack on Maloudh was received by the Government of the Punjab on the 15th; intelligence was at once sent to the Viceroy, who, on the 16th, ordered an immediate enquiry by the most experienced officer available. On the 16th the news of the attack on Maler Kotla was received by the Punjab Government. The Lieutenant-Governor, in sending it on to the Government of India, reported that he had arranged to send troops to the spot, and had ordered the arrest of Rám Singh and his chief Subhas. Some Cavalry and Native Infantry were at once despatched to support the Civil Officers and to effect these arrests.

The Government of India approved these measures. On the 18th, Punjab Government wrote that, under circumstances not explained, 49 Kukas had been blown from guns by Mr. Cowan, and that explanation had been called for. Early on the 19th, the Viceroy telegraphed to stop any summary execution of the Kukas, but the sixteen additional men at Maler Kotla had been already hanged.

No. 1804½, dated 21st May 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to call your attention to an error of fact in the memorandum accompanying your letter No. 857, dated 30th ultimo, on the subject of the Kuka executions.

The 16 prisoners executed by the Commissioner of Ambálah at Maler Kotla were blown from guns, and not hanged.

No. 2217, dated 24th June 1872.

From—Lepel Griffin, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab,
To—The Offg. Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed, in acknowledging your letters No. 472, dated 10th March, and No. 1046, dated 13th June, to forward a report on the cases of the Kuka Subhas confined in the fort of Allahabád. This report has been prepared by Mr. James Macnabb, C.S., who was specially deputed for this purpose in accordance with the directions of the Government of India, and who, as Officiating Commissioner of Ambálah during the greater part of 1871, had the best opportunity of forming a reliable opinion on the position of the Kuka sect generally, and the relative importance of its leaders.

2. In the conclusions of this report the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor generally agrees. It carefully discriminates the degrees of danger to be apprehended from each of the Kuka Subhas under detention, but His Honor does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to those degrees. The expediency of

releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the province, and the Lieutenant-Governor thinks such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed and a report made to the Government of India.

3. As regards Sardár Mangal Singh, in particular, apart from the fact of his having been made over by the Máharája of Patiála for detention in British territory, it is clear, from the evidence collected by Mr. Macnabb, that he is one of the principal conspirators, whilst his rank and position leave his treason without excuse or palliation. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot agree with Mr. Macnabb in thinking that any appreciable advantage would accrue from his public recantation of Kuka-ism. Followed up by his release, it would be generally attributed to interested inconstancy. It is preferable that he should be detained as an example and warning to plotters of the better class.

4. The Appendices A. to K. are forwarded in original to save delay.

No.—, dated Simla

From—J. W. Macnabb, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ambálah District,

To—The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

In reply to your No. 118, dated 19th March 1872, regarding the 11 Kuka Subhas now in confinement at Allahabád, I have the honor to submit the following report.

The object of the enquiry I have been directed to make is to show whether or not these men are individually dangerous characters, whose release would be likely to lead to further trouble in the Punjab.

The case of each individual is submitted separately, as directed, but it is also necessary to state the case against them generally, as it appears from the enquiries I had previously made, the result of which is given in my report of the 4th November last, and from the evidence now obtained, which consists of the papers detailed in the appendix and the statements of the prisoners themselves.

It will be observed that the evidence contained in the appendix has been obtained from many perfectly independent sources, which gives it, where the statements agree, the greater weight.

The report of the 4th November proves, I think, beyond doubt that Kuka-ism aims at the restoration of Sikh rule, and by necessity the subversion of the British power.

I would here note that where the witnesses speak of a Sikh Ráj succeeding that of the English, a temporal, and not merely a spiritual, rule is intended; and it seems to me that the mere declaration of the immediate advent of the Sikh Ráj under Kuka leadership, addressed to men who are urged to become Kukas that they may derive all the benefits accruing to the members of a victorious sect, is a teaching intended to stir up sedition in the minds of the hearers; and this is what I mean when in the accompanying papers I have used the word "seditious."

That the sect and its tenets are actually dangerous to the tranquillity of ths province is further proved by the outbreak at Zíra, near

Mokatsar, in February 1869, in which, after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, the Kukas of that neighbourhood proclaimed the Sikh Ráj; *secondly*, by the murder of the butchers, which was a political move defying British authority which had specially permitted kine-killing; *thirdly*, by their late attack on Maloudh and Maler Kotla.

All the prisoners admit, with the exception of Mán Singh and Mangal Singh, that they are Subhas, or leaders of this dangerous sect; and against these two their leadership is fully proved: on this ground alone they must be held to be dangerous.

But in addition to this there is the evidence of a great number of zaildárs and lambardárs, or headmen of villages, to prove that the general preaching of the Subhas themselves was seditious, namely, that all should become Kukas at once, otherwise it will be too late, as the Sikh Ráj, under the leadership of Rám Singh, is to commence, and those who fail to join now will not be allowed to do so then; that the men are to get as much cash ready as possible; that the women are to wear short drawers that they may become martyrs with decency; and that there must first be persecution, then success (a convenient doctrine, accounting for all reverses).

All the prisoners, except Mangal Singh and Mán Singh, admit that they were at Bhaini when the outbreak took place. Jowáhir Singh admits that it was the common talk of the place that the "mastánas" were in a fanatical frenzy, and were going to attack Maler Kotla, Nábha, Jínd and Patiála; and the witnesses marginally noted state that the prisoners, except Mangal Singh, urged on and encouraged Híra and Lehna Singh and their band in the intended attack.

Appendix C.

Bhola Singh.
Dewa Singh.
Nihál Singh.
Bhagwáni.
Lakka Singh.

These prisoners being thus proved to be dangerous men, I would strongly recommend that they should not be allowed to return to the Punjab at present.

Both they and their followers would at once set it down as a fresh demonstration of their Guru's power, and, coupled with the punishment of the officers who were concerned in the late Kuka executions, it would lead to an immediate revival of the hopes and activity of the sect.

As an instance of the way in which every event is misrepresented so as to redound to their Guru's glory, I may mention that, when trying the Ráikot case, I sent for Rám Singh as a witness for the defence. He came, and was kept waiting in a tent till his turn came, when he was sent home. His followers, knowing (which I did not then know) how deeply he was implicated in the business, were much surprised at his being let go, and the story was immediately circulated that he had "miraculously disappeared from the tent where he was prisoner, that the Police refused to guard him any longer, and the Sáhib log then let him go"—(see copy L). I would recommend that (1) Sáhib Singh, (3) Lakka Singh, and (4) Kánh Singh be detained in banishment for life; that the cases of the others be reconsidered with reference to the state of Kuka-ism in the Punjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated; and that, should it then be thought expedient to allow their

Appendix L.

return, they should remain under police surveillance at their homes, and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings; (6) Jowáhir Singh to be detained for life, unless Kuka-ism collapse so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety; (5) Bráhma Singh, and (10) Pahára Singh, 10 years; (8) Mán Singh, three years; (2) Rúr Singh and (7) Mallúk Singh, two years; (9) Hukma Singh, one year (on release, this man should be made over to the Nábha Rája). (11) Sardár Mangal Singh was made over to us by the Máharája of Patiála, and, as his prisoner, I am not called on for an opinion regarding him, further than to state that, were he in the same position as the others, I would recommend his immediate release on the terms offered by him, and, if that is not approved of, would detain him in banishment for life. I do not think he will disconnect our action regarding him from that of Patiála.

Jowáhir Singh.

APPENDICES.

A. Selected Papers, 1867-68-69-70.

B. Reports of Police Officers.

1. Major Bamfield, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambálah.
2. Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, late Inspector of Police, Ludiánah.
3. Mr. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police, Ludiánah Deposition.
4. Mr. O'Connor, District Superintendent of Police, Hoshíarpúr.
5. Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Lahore.
6. Detailed report of ditto.
7. Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Police, Lahore, with depositions.
8. Mr. Charde, District Superintendent of Police, Gujránwála.
9. Do. full report on Bráhma Singh, with 31 depositions.
10. Major Wall, District Superintendent of Police, Fírozpúr.
11. Ditto's detailed report of three Subhas.
12. Ditto's 7 depositions regarding the Subhas.
13. Statement made before District Superintendent of Police, Jálandhar.

C 1. Thirteen depositions by Captain Beadon, Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

2. Four ditto regarding Mangal Singh.
3. Two ditto by Mr. Macnabb, taken at Ludiánah.

D 1. Two ditto by Deputy Commissioner, Hoshíarpúr, regarding Kánh Singh.

2. Three ditto ditto regarding seditious hopes of Kukas generally.

E 1. Twenty-eight depositions by Deputy Commissioner, Gujránwála.

2. Deposition of Vysáka Singh, servant of Bráhma Singh, by Deputy Commissioner, Gujránwála.

3. Thurteen depositions by Mr. Trafford, Assistant Commissioner, Síálkot.

F 1. Nine depositions by Mr. Burney, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr.

F 2. Deposition of Jowáhir Singh, by Mr. Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr.

3. Six depositions by Mr. Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr.

4. Letter of Mr. Burney, Deputy Commissioner, Fírozpúr.

G Copy of Subha Gyani Singh's defence before Deputy Commissioner.

H Copy of Colonel Baillie's letter to Mr. , dated 10th April.

I Copy of Basáwa's deposition in Amritsar murder case.

J Copy of deposition of Deputy Inspector Sarfaráz Khán in Maloudh case.

K Copy of extract of deposition of Harnám Singh, by Deputy Commissioner, Ambálah, dated 18th July 1871.

L Copy of extract of depositions of Lehna Singh Mian's evidence in Amritsar case by Colonel Baillie.

No. I.—Summary of Evidence regarding Sáhib Singh.

Sahib Singh states that he is a man of about 40. Became a wandering naked fakír about the age of 18. Was made a Kuka 13 years ago by Bálak Rám, founder of the sect, and was made a Subha 5 or 6 years ago by Rám Singh.

Appendix A. of 1867.

In 1863 Gainda Singh, a spy employed by the District Superintendent, Police, Jálandhar, mentions him as the leading man with Rám Singh at Bhaini; also that he *drilled* the people; but this is nowhere substantiated.

[Note.—I believe this report about drilling originates from some forms gone through when a party of Kukas bathe at midnight. A similar report was made to me about the same year in Siálkot.]

Appendix A. of 1868.

In 1866 the same spy reports Sáhib Singh as Rám Singh's probable successor, and likely to give trouble.

He also appears in list of Subhas for the same year, and Captain Menzies indicates him as Rám Singh's successor.

Appendix A. of 1868.

In 1867 Captain Menzies repeats this report, and states that he is more listened to than Rám Singh himself; also that at the Diwáli Fair at Amritsar he was inclined to be turbulent and impatient of restraint; and Colonel McAndrew also reports that several leading Sikh gentlemen thought

unfavorably of Sáhib Singh in particular,—more so than they did of the other Subhas. Sáhib Singh also appeared in the list of headmen with Rám Singh at the melá at Anandpúr.

The reports marginally noted, which were obtained independently of each other, remark on him as follows:—

Appendix. Deputy Inspector-General, Lahore, B 5.

"Rám Singh's lieutenant and probable successor. Best known of all the Subhas. Educated, ambitious, designing, edging on Rám Singh to fresh movements."

Appendix. Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah, B 1.

"Mán Singh, chief counsellor of Rám Singh. Great influence among the Kukas. Bears an unfavorable character; hot-tempered and unscrupulous."

Appendix. District Superintendent, Lahore, B 7.

"Well-known Subha; always with Rám Singh."

Appendix. District Superintendent, Hoshiárpúr, B 4.

"Rám Singh's confidential Subha."

Appendix. District Superintendent, Fírozpúr, B 10.

"Noted Subha."

Gurmukh Singh and Mangal Singh, who were hanged for the Raikot murders, stated that they saw Sáhib Singh at Bhaini (where they went by forced marches) the day before the murder. It is fairly to be inferred they went to receive the Guru's approval or blessing, and Sáhib Singh could not have been ignorant of their errand. When, however, he was examined as their witness on the trial, he utterly denied having seen them.

Sáhib Singh admits that last spring he took up two mules and two buffaloes to Jang Bahádur at Nipál. He pretends that this was a mere mercantile transaction (he could hardly help smiling as he said this); but the distance to be travelled, the expense of carrying the animals by rail, and the mode of repayment (Rs. 600 in cash, two kukries, a pony, a shawl, and a necklace) show that the animals were a gift to the Nipál Chief, who of course made a return present. It is to be noted that on this occasion, besides Kánh Singh, he was accompanied by Attar Singh and Jaman Singh, who are suspected of murdering the Morinda chaukidár, and have absconded in consequence.

Appendix C. 1.

The deposition of the following Lambardárs, Bela Singh, Deva Singh, Partáb Singh, Nihál Singh, and Dowlat Rám, taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, prove Sáhib Singh to be among the three most important Subhas, which Subhas, according to all the witnesses, have been most active propagandists, and, according to many of them, * have taught sedition openly.

Appendix C. 1.

* Bhola Singh.	Partáb Singh.
Ghamandah.	Nihál Singh.
Bela.	Dowlat Rám.
Dewa Singh.	Rai Ahmad Khán.

Some of the witnesses specially name Sáhib Singh as having encouraged the Maloudh gang in their intention to proceed to open violence. Sáhib Singh, who was present at Bhaini at the late outbreak, tries to make out that he informed the Thanadár of their intention; but the evidence of that official and other statements show that he was merely sent to give in certain of their names, when the Thanadár, having been informed by the chaukidár of the village of what was in progress, insisted on Rám Singh assisting him.

Appendix C.
Bhola Singh.
Nihál Singh.

Defence.

Statement of Sáhib Singh, son of Diál Singh, of Banwalipúr, Tarn Táran, Amritsar, age 39, caste, carpenter.

BECAME an Udasi Sádh about nine years before I became a Kuka. In 1916 Sambat went to Hazro, and was made a Kuka by Bálak Rám (the founder), who died in 1919. Bálak Rám named Rám Singh as his successor. Rám Singh has appointed no successor.

I was made a Subha five or six years ago. The first-made Subhas were—(4) Káhn Singh, Sudh Singh; (6) Jowáhir Singh was made a Subha some five or six months afterwards; (2) Rúr Singh, (3) Lakka Singh, (5) Birma Singh, (7) Mallúk Singh, (9) Hukma Singh, (10) Pahára Singh, are also Subhas; (8) Mán Singh is not a Subha, but is a Kuka; (11) Mangal Singh is not a Subha, but is a Kuka; has been so for the last five or six years. He has given largely according to his means for religious purposes. He gave Rám Singh a great cream-colored mare and received a ghúnt. He had not been in Bhainí for two months or three before the outbreak. A year and a quarter ago I went with (4) Káhn Singh, Attar Singh, Jaman Singh and two others with two mules and two buffaloes,—the former for the Tíka, the latter for the Rája, of Nipál. They had sent for them through Hari Singh, Kirpal Singh, Bír Singh and Bishan Singh (Kishan Singh, one of the Hoshiárpúr murderers, is a brother of Bishan Singh's). It was a purely mercantile transaction. The mules and buffaloes were for Jang Bahádur and his son, Babbar Jang. I met them both and spoke with them. Several buffaloes had already been sent to Jang Bahádur. Nihál Singh and Asa Singh, servants of Jang Bahádur, had previously taken buffaloes,—the former from Farídkot, the latter from the Punjab. These men are not Kukas, but ordinary Sikhs. There are some 15 or 20 Sikhs in the service. One is an Adjutant,—another a Jamadár.

In return for our animals, we got from Jang Bahádur some Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 cash, a kastúra necklace, and a shawl; also a ghúnt which subsequently died from the heat. He also gave us two kukries.

My duties as Subha are to look after the stable and breeding establishment, and sell the stock. I sold several horses at Hardwár a few years ago. The profits go to the "Langar Khána." I go about with Rám Singh. I make Kukas.

I have never drilled men. Don't know drill. Can write and read Gurmukhi.

I did not see Mangal Singh and Gurmukh Singh just before the Raikot murders.

I was sent by Rám Singh to start the mastánas off to their homes, and they abused me, and would not go. I then sent for others, and finally the Guru came and begged them to go off quietly. They said they were hungry; so he fed them in his compound, and then they went off, and I told the Thanadár to look after them, and wrote their names.

* Speaking of the mastánas.

I can't say why a good religion produces such bad effects.* Their time for dying had come; so also had the time of the people they killed.

I have no wish to do anything but to serve God.

The nine men now with me, including Mán Singh, were at Bhaini at the melá; Mangal Singh was not.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—Intelligent, clever, and determined-looking; much the ablest of the Subhas.

Opinion.

I THINK that the above evidence with his own admissions show that Sáhib Singh has preached sedition, encouraged the late outbreak, and has taken next to Rám Singh the leading part in propagating the spread of the Kuka sect, of which the avowed object and consummation is the restoration of the Sikh and the explusion of the British Government. He is intelligent, clever and determined. If allowed to return, Kuka-ism would at once revive and become troublesome. He should never be allowed to return to the Punjab, but be kept in banishment for the rest of his life.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

No. II.—Summary of Evidence regarding Rúr Singh.

RUR SINGH is brother of Sáhib Singh, No. 1. He is a family man, and keeps a carpenter's shop at Amritsar. Has been a Subha five years.

Appendix A. of 1867.

In the lists for 1866 Rúr Singh is described as a leading disciple at Amritsar; in those of 1867 as an important follower.

Deputy Inspector-General says he has considerable influence in Amritsar, and was undoubtedly cognizant of the Amritsar murders before their commission.

Appendix A. of 1868.

Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh says he was present at Bhaini on 11th and 12th January, and was arrested, along with 15 other Kukas, on his return to Amritsar by rail on the 15th idem.

B 2.

B 4, 7 and 10. The District Superintendents of Hushiárpúr, Lahore and Fírozpúr report him as a Subha.

In his deposition before Captain Beadon on 18th July, before the Kukas were suspected of the Amritsar murders, which occurred on the 15th, Harnám Singh stated that, if the Kukas had committed the crime, Rúr Singh, with one or two more, would know all about it. Lehna Singh, transported for his share in the Amritsar murders, stated to Colonel Baillie that Rúr Singh was consulted before the Amritsar murders, and approved them, as did all the city Kukas.

Appendix K.

In the deposition before the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Rúr Singh is stated to have taught sedition in common with the other Subhas, but no special instances of his doing so are mentioned.

Appendix C.

He was present at Bhaini at the outbreak.

Defence.

Statement of Rur Singh, son of Diál Singh, caste carpenter, age 41 years, of Bangwálipúr.

I now live and work in Amritsar. Have a family. Bába Rám Singh made me a Kuka in Sambat 1917. Was made an instrcutor of religion some five years ago.

Was with Rám Singh at the Anandpúr melá. It was after this melá that I was allowed to impart " the name." I know nothing of the Amritsar murders, or I should have told the Deputy Commissioner.

I don't go about to melás with Rám Singh,—I merely teach in the city ; I am too busy at my trade to do much else. I went to Bhaini for the Lohri to present Rám Singh with a window frame. I left for Amritsar on the Monday after the melá.

I did not see the mastánas, being busy putting up the window ; but I heard they were giving trouble,—what, I don't know,—and that Rám Singh had sent a list of them to the Thánadár. I know nothing more.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—This does not seem a man of mark or character ; probably owes his position to being Sáhib Singh's brother.

Opinion.

This man practically admits that he was Subha for the city of Amritsar, and there is little doubt that he knew of the butcher murders being planned. He is a family man, and earns his living. He might be allowed to return in two years' time on condition of living quietly in his home, attending no fairs and holding no meetings.

(Sd.) J. W. Macnabb,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 24th April 1872.

No. III.—Summary of Evidence regarding Lakka Singh.

LAKHA SINGH was formerly in the Sher Dil Police Battalion, and was discharged, it is stated, by Colonel McAndrew for misconduct. He was made a Kuka ten years ago, and has ever since had his head-quarters at Bhaini, but wandered about attending melás and fairs. Was a good deal at Sadoura, in Ambálah, " eating mangoes," as he calls it; but the largest colony of Kukas in the Ambaláh District was the result. He pretends not to know what a Subha is, and disclaims being one; but, in addition to other evidence, his fellow-prisoners say he is a Subha. He appears as a leading Subha in all the printed lists for 1867, and as having made a disturbance at the Baisákhi melá at Amritsar in that year. The following are from the reports of Police Officers:—

Appendix A of 1868.

Appendix B 5. Deputy Inspector-General, Lahore,—" Turbulent, zealous propagandist;" gives names of witnesses to prove the same.

Appendix B 7. Deputy Superintendent, Police, Lahore, gives depositions of witnesses who know him as a zealous propagandist. One, a zaildár of Majanga, says he heard him proclaim the advent of the Sikh Ráj. The District Superintendent, Police, Captain Menzies, is personally acquainted with him, and considers him the most turbulent of the Subhas.

Appendix B 4. District Superintendent, Police, Hoshiárpúr,—" Turbulent and fanatical."

Appendix B 1. Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah,— " Equal in importance to Sáhib Singh, and more intriguing and deficient in temper and bearing."

Appendix B 10. District Superintendent, Police, Fírozpúr,—" Well-known Subha." In his defence in the Raikot murder case Gurmuk Singh named Lakka Singh as one whom he had met two days before the murder at Bhaini. Lakka Singh, called as a witness, denied it.

In a number of depositions taken by the Police Officer and Deputy Commissioner of Ludiánah, Lakka Singh is named with the other prisoners generally as preaching sedition and predicting the speedy accession of Rám Singh to the government of the country.

Appendix C 1. The special evidence against him is as follows:—(6) Bola Singh, of Bhani, describes Lakka Singh as especially vehement in his exhortations to the party who attacked Maloudh.

(1) Bela Singh states that he has heard Lakka Singh give out in his preaching that, if all would become Kukas, Kukas would reign. Considers Lakka Singh, with Sáhib Singh, Mangal Singh and Kánh Singh, as the most dangerous of the Kukas.

(2) Dewa Singh agrees in the same opinion.

(3) Dowlat Rám says Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh and Mangal Singh are the most dangerous and seditious of the Subhas.

(4) Partáb Singh has heard Lakka Singh proclaim that there would be a Kuka Ráj.

(5) Nihál Singh has heard Lakka Singh tell the Jats that if they all became Kukas there would soon be a Kuka Ráj.

(7) Ghamanda, Singh, of Bhaini, states that he saw Lakka Singh with the mastána party at the well as they were about to proceed to Kotla.

(8) Bhagwáni, chaukidár of Bhaini, states, as he also stated in his deposition before me, that Lakka Singh was told by Rám Singh to assist Híra Singh and his band, and accordingly he went with Harnám Singh, brother of Gyani Singh, hanged last autumn, to the well, and saw them off, saying to them—" Go on, we will join you."

Appendix C 3.

(9) Lakka, Lambardár of Bhaini, states that at a darbár the night previously, on Híra Singh and Lehna Singh saying that they meant to attack Maler Kotla, as it was without a head, and, getting arms from thence, go on and attack Nábha, Patiála, Jínd, Fírozpúr and Dehli, and asked Rám Singh's help, Lakka Singh assented, and said he would help. (Lakka did not state this to me, but described the darbár and referred to the talk about the attack on Kotla.) Next day he was present when Híra Singh and his band were fed; heard Rám Singh send Lakka Singh to start the band off; went also with Lakka Singh and Harnám Singh, to whom, Lehna Singh said—" We are going to take a 'badli' (reprisal) for Gyani Singh." Harnám Singh and Lakka Singh said—" Go, and we will follow."

C 3.

(10)—Gyani. The same story as to what was said at the well is told by one of the gang in his defence on his trial for the attack on Maloudh.

Defence.

Statement of Lakka Singh, son of Rána Singh, age 36, of Maloudh, Ludiánah.

I was formerly in the Sher Dil, and, when it was broken up, was drafted into the Police, and finally got leave to resign from Captain Ramsay, of the Police. This was in Sambat 1918.

I then took up some land in Mulpúr, Jálandhar, but gave it up in about 18 months, as I could not work it alone. I then went to Bhaini.

I had been made a Kuka by Rám Singh in Ludiánah in 1916 or 1917 the famine year. I remained at Bhaini feeding his cattle and helping at the cooking-house.

I did not leave Bhaini for two or three years. I then began to g about here and there. I went to Sadoura to eat mangoes; then use to go to Bhambi, in Lahore, to look after a stallion of mine. In fact I have been moving about (to shrines and holy places) more or les returning to Bhaini at intervals, ever since. I have made a few con verts at——.

I am not a regular Subha. I have no district in particular. I tol Rám Singh I had made converts, and he approved. All my fellow

prisoners are Subhas except Mán Singh. I believe Mangal Singh got leave to make Kukas in Dholpúr, and that he also is a Subha.

I did not get into any row at the Baisákhi fair at Amritsar. I never taught at Bhambi that Rám Singh was an "avator" (incarnation) nor that the Sikh Ráj was at hand.

I was present at the Holi melá at Kotha, in Fírozpúr, last March; also at the Baisakhi at Damdama Sáhib; but I was always at work in the cook-room. All I know is that a Mirássi was repeating 'sabds' (stanzas) out of the Granth. Lehna Singh and Híra Singh, as Jowáhir Singh was passing, hit him with their elbows, and staves were flourished, but the parties were separated.

On the occasion of the outbreak at Tirajpúr the people had collected their money and grain at Patiwála (or Belawála), (or Bolewála) where Malúk Singh lives; and about a month after Government had punished four men for the disturbance which occurred at Tirajpúr, Rám Singh sent me, Gyani Singh and Jowáhir Singh to Patiwála to threaten the people and to distribute the money and grain among them again, and tell them to go back to their usual avocations; they were collected on that particular day for some marriage, and we took advantage of that collection to speak to the people.

At the late Lohri (or Maghi) fair at Bhaini I arrived from Chuni, in Lahore, on the Tuesday. Híra Singh and Lehna Singh quarrelled with me about the bread they got, and Rám Singh *told* me he had no control over them. I went and told the Thánadár. On Wednesday I was again sent to tell the Thánadár. The men left in the afternoon on Friday or Saturday; and on the second day I went by Rám Singh's orders into Ludiánah to report in case the Thánadár had not done so, as Rám Singh was sure the men were dangerous.

I did not go with Rám Singh when he went to quiet the men, because the Thánadár had advised me to keep out of the way for fear Híra Singh and Lehna Singh should kill me. It was Sáhib Singh who went with Rám Singh.

I did not see them again. They fed at the langar, where I was busy distributing the food, but there were hundreds of others.

All my fellow-prisoners, including Mán Singh, but excluding Mangal Singh, were present at Bhaini at the fair.

Rúr Singh has the town of Amritsar in his charge and the neighbouring villages.

Káhn Singh had formerly charge of Hoshiárpúr, but has lately been in the Ambálah direction.

Sudh Singh is the Ambálah Subha, but he was not at Bhaini at the Lohri melá.

Bráhma Singh is Subha of Siálkot and Gujránwála; Jowáhir, of Fírozpúr; Malúk Singh is also of Fírozpúr; Hukma Singh has the Nábha ilaqua; Pahára Singh lives in Sear, and has charge of the villages round.

In one family there are many minds. I am not responsible for what other Kukas may do.

I will be glad to work for Government for Rs. 4 per mensem.*

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—Looks a good-for-nothing.

Opinion.

THIS man is clearly the most turbulent of the Subhas. There can be no doubt about his preaching sedition, and his having seen Híra Singh's band off with encouraging words. He should remain in perpetual banishment.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 23*rd April* 1872.

No. IV.—Summary of Evidence regarding Kánh Singh.

THIS man was a Havildár in Naonihál Singh's Regiment, and was made a Kuka by the founder, Bálak Rám, at Hazro 30 years ago, at the same time as Rám Singh, who was a private in the same Regiment. He is 60 years of age. He is now a fakír, with an
or other.

He was one of the three first Subhas,—the others being Jowáhir Singh and Bráhma Singh. This he admits himself. He also appears as Subha of the Jálandhar District in Gainda Singh's report quoted in Selected Papers (VII.) of 1867, and appears in all the lists of leading Subhas for that year, and is mentioned by Captain Menzies, then District Superintendent of Amritsar, as one of the four most turbulent Kukas at the Baisáki melá in that year.

Appendix A. of 1867.

He again appears as Subha in the Selected Papers (XII.) of 1868.

Appendix A of 1868.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police reports him as a well-known energetic propagandist, chiefly among soldiers and police; also that one of his servants would
at Hushiárpúr for smoking. Kánh Singh admits this.

Appendix B 4.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Ambálah makes a very similar report.

Appendix B 1.

The District Superintendent of Hoshiárpúr reports him as a man of dissolute habits; no fixed residence; also that he was apprehended by the Police and kept under surveillance for some time at Hoshiárpur in consequence of his holding a meeting under suspicious circumstances just after the butcher murders at Amritsar.

Appendix B 4.

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* He is in tears at this point.

Mangal Singh, when on his defence in the Raikot case, named Kánh Singh as one of the men he had seen at Bhaini just two days before the murders were committed. Kánh Singh admits having gone with Sáhib Singh to Nipál to present Rám Singh's present to Jang Bahádur. This, as I have pointed out in Sáhib Singh's case, was practically an embassy from Rám Singh to Jang Bahádur. I have also noted that they were accompanied in the trip by Attar Singh and Jaman Singh (since absconded) in the Morinda murder case, and who, there is little doubt, were out on a butcher-killing expedition when they came across the unfortunate chaukidár at Morinda. (See the evidence of another Kánh Singh filed with my report of 4th November.)

Appendix D 1.

Lehna and Rám Singh depose before Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiárpúr to a Kuka meeting held in their village last July, at which Kánh Singh was present, and the Kukas openly told the people the Sikh rule was to come in 1928 (the present year), and urged all to join the sect, as they would be well off.

Kánh Singh was in Bhaini at late outbreak.

Appendix C.

In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah' Kánh Singh is said, in common with the other prisoners, to be in the habit of preaching sedition.

The special evidence against Kánh Singh is as follows :—

C. Evidence taken by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah.

Bela states that he heard Kánh Singh giving out that if all would become Kukas, Kukas would reign.

Partáb Singh states that he has heard Kánh Singh teach that there would be a Kuka Ráj, and all who joined would get jágírs.

Daulat Rám makes a similar statement.

Defence.

Statement of KANH SINGH, *alias* NIHANG SINGH, age 60, caste Jat, of Chak, in Maler Kotla.

I WAS a Havildár and Rám Singh a Sipáhi in Naonihál Singh's Regiment, and used to be on duty with Brigade-Major Mackeson.

I was made a Kuka in 1898, in Sher Singh's time, by Bálak Singh, in Hazro, when Rám Singh was also made Kuka.

Left the army when it threw down its arms at Ráwalpindi. I then started a water-mill at Maloudh in Hoshiárpúr. Remained there till two years ago. The water ran short, and I made my head-quarters at Sadoura in Ambálah.

When Rám Singh was confined to Bhaini I went to McLeod Sahib (the Lieutenant-Governor) and said that the people were in great difficulties on account of the Bába (Rám Singh) not being able to go about to marriages and worship. McLeod Sahib said—" You can go in his place." I told this to Rám Singh, and he said that if any one wished to be initiated I could give him " the name."*

* This is becoming a Subha.

At the same time Jowáhir Singh, Sudh Singh, and Bráhma Singh were made Subhas. Some six months later Sáhib Singh was made a Subha.

Mán Singh is a zemindár, not a Subha; the rest of the prisoners are Subhas.

I don't know if Mangal Singh is a Subha.

I was at the Amritsar melá and the Anandpúr melá with Rám Singh.

I did go to try and get off three men who were in prison for a row about smoking a hukha,—Mian Singh, Táhal Singh and Jaimal Singh.

I was not with Bába Naina Singh in the disturbances made not by him, but by his chelás. I was with my regiment.

I went with Sáhib Singh to Nipál to sell buffaloes and mules. One Kirpál Singh wrote to Rám Singh to say there was sale for such animals, and he bought the mules, and Sáhib Singh the buffaloes, and took them. Rám Singh gave us the order. We took them by rail. When we got there Kirpál Singh introduced us to Babbar Jang, and the latter to his father, Jang Bahádur. Sáhib Singh arranged the transaction. It was purely a commercial transaction. We got a shawl, a necklace of kastúri and gold, and Rs. 500 in cash, also a horse, and the Resident gave us a pass for two kukris to protect our property. I don't know how the kukris came to our lodgings.

I was at Hoshiárpúr, and was placed under surveillance at the time of the Amritsar murders.

I was at Hoshiárpúr at the time of the Raikot murders. Mangal Singh could not have seen me at Bhaini. I was under orders from the Police not to move from Pur.

I have made Kukas of a Havildár and some 15 men of the Hoshiárpúr Police.

I have been a good deal in Ambálah city, staying 15 or 20 days at a time at Sher Singh and Mastán Singh's house. They work in partnership. I go whenever they want to "bhog."

I was present at the Lohri fair. I heard that Rám Singh had sent Lakka Singh to give warning that there were several troublesome men there who were insulting everybody, even Subhas, and also that their names had been sent in to the Thanadár; but I saw nothing. I suffer from rupture, and cannot move about. I was also suffering from dysentry.*

* The Sergeant in charge says the Doctor has been treating him for gonorrhœa, and also that he is ruptured.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—I have had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of this man. He is a cunning fellow, very much of the same stamp as Lakka Singh,—not so intelligent as Sáhib Singh.

Opinion.

Kánh Singh is a man of much weight,—certainly, putting Mangal Singh aside, the third in importance among the Subhas. I would keep him in banishment for the rest of his life.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 25*th April* 1872.

No. V.—Summary of Evidence regarding Bráhma Singh.

BRAHMA SINGH, by his own account, is 50 years old, became a wandering fakír at an early age, and was made a Kuka by Bálak Rám at Hazro in Sambat 1916, and appointed a Subha for the trans-Rávi country by Rám Singh in 1921.

Appendix A. of 1867.
Appendix A. of 1868.

In the selected papers (XII.) of 1867 he appears as trans-Rávi propagandist; also in selected papers (XV.) of 1868 as Subha; and in these papers Captain Menzies reports him as holding numerous meetings in the Amritsar District, after which graves were destroyed and Thákurdwáras and Masjids injured, though the offences could not be brought home to the Kukas.

Appendix B., 1-4-5, B., 6.

The Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah, and the District Superintendents of Lahore and Hoshiárpúr report on him as a propagandist Subha. The Deputy Inspector-General, Lahore, notes the inflammatory nature of his teaching, and states that he had been invited to the meeting at Lopoki which resulted in the Amritsar murders.

Bráhma Singh admits that he was at a meeting at which one of the murderers, Mehr Singh, was present about the same time; and although it is not clear, as far as the evidence at present collected goes, that this was the same meeting, still the fact that he was at the village when the Amritsar outrage was planned, and about the time at which it was planned, is worthy of note.

Appendix B., 8.

This man's proceedings seem to have been closely watched by the District Superintendent of Police, Gujránwála, since the Amritsar butcher murders, and on the 25th July last that officer commenced reporting on his movements, as he considered him a highly dangerous character. He has also supported his previous reports with the depositions of 20 highly respectable men, one of whom (No. 17) states he himself heard him exhorting people to become Kukas, and predicting the near advent of "Sikh rule." The other witnesses prove that it was notorious that Bráhma Singh, immediately after the butcher murders, gave orders that women should wear the short drawers in order that they might became martyrs with decency; that both men and women should collect as much cash for the coming disturbances as possible; that the war was to break out this year; that the Sikh Ráj would soon come; that incarnations of Guru Gobind's martyrs had killed the butchers at Amritsar, &c.

Bráhma Singh was, as he admits, present at Bhaini at the time of the late outbreak, and was arrested there. He is mentioned by the various witnesses, whose evidence was taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, as one amongst a number of Subhas who encouraged the mastánas in their evil designs, but no special act or saying of his is recorded, and it does not seem that he took a prominent part, possibly because few, if any, of his own trans-Rávi men were present at the melá.

Appendix C.

The following is the evidence recorded by the Deputy Commissioner, Gujránwála, regarding the seditious nature of Bráhma Singh's preaching.

In addition to a good deal of hearsay evidence showing that the nature of his teaching was notorious, the following is direct:—

No. 1—*Dya Singh*—frequently heard him urge people to become Kukas, as the Khálsa Ráj would soon come, and that of the British end; also that Guru Rám Singh's "martyrs" had killed the butchers.

Appendix E. 1.

No. 10—*Shahbáz Khan*—heard him, in June last, at a large meeting, say that the government would change in two or two-and-a half months, and the Ráj of the Kukas begin.

No. 13—*Nihál Singh*—heard him say openly, 16 months ago, that all who did not become Kukas would be sorry for it; for the reign of Rám Singh was to come.

No. 16—*Guláb, a Muhammadan.*—Bráhma Singh said to me in a laughing way —"Why don't you become a Kuka?" I said I was content. He said—"You will see, when the Máharája's reign begins, what will happen." This was two years ago. They pulled up tobacco* and threw down a shrine.

* Smoking is forbidden by Rám Singh.

No. 22—*Bíra*—heard him say the Khálsa Ráj was fast approaching.

No. 23—*Híra Singh*—says at first Bráhma Singh used to be very cautious, but in June last, in his presence, he told the people to put jángias (short drawers) on their women; otherwise, when the men went to battle, the women would be uncovered; also that houses, &c., should be sold, and cash only kept, as it would be useful by and by; also that in 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ months Rám Singh's Ráj would begin, and then those who had not been "named," *i.e.*, become Kukas, would have cause to regret; also, after the butcher murders at Amritsar, heard him say that Guru Rám Singh's martyrs had done the business.

No. 25—*Gobind, a Bráhmin Chaukidár*,—heard him say, some nine months ago, that those who did not become Kukas would regret it when the Ráj of Guru Rám Singh commenced; that all the people would get arms; also said—" Come, come, there will be a cry of Akál, Akál, soon;" also that the Guru's martyrs had killed the butchers; also said plenty of things that he dare not say now.

No. 28—*Kamah*—heard him, last autumn, urge people to become Kukas, or they would regret it when Rám Singh began to reign shortly.

Before the Assistant Commissioner, Siálkot, Fatteh Dín said he heard him, three years ago, preach the restoration of the Khálsa. Last November he came through the village crying out "Akál, Akál." It was well known he was preaching his Ráj.

Appendix E 3.

Kapúr Singh heard him promise that the Ráj of Rám Singh was about to be established, and that those who did not join now should not have the chance afterwards. *Fazl* heard him say much the same.

Bhai Jaimal Singh says he used to say that the Ráj of the Akál was about to begin; even the trees and shrubs would join the cause; those who did not join would be punished; those who did, made Subhas. He first named 1928, then 1929, then 1930 as the year in which the new reign was to begin. He gave instructions to the people to be ready to go to Bhaini in Magh when he called them there.

Attra Mal heard him exhort people to become Kukas, or they would repent it. The Ráj was about to begin.

Arjan heard him tell people that the Khálsa Ráj would begin in Kátick. He gave it to be understood that the new reign was to be established by force. I remonstrated with him. He said they had great force.

Ganda heard him warn people to take the "name" (*i.e.,* become Kukas) now, or they would regret it.

Kutubdín heard him foretell the Kuka Ráj in two or three months' time. Promised to make him a Subha if he became a convert. Said they were to commence, in a corner of the kingdom at Anandpúr, immense operations, and that Rám Singh had arms in his house. Kutubdín heard him say to crowds—"Kuka Ráj will soon begin; become Kukas, or you will regret it."

Khlass Khán heard him predict that in time he would become king; the lucky would join, the unlucky would not; asked him to join the Kukas, promising great worldly profit; said that proceedings would commence from the direction of north-west by west.*

* Perhaps the Akhúnd of Swát was hinted at.

Vysákha Singh, his own servant, describes him as equal in position and authority to Sáhib Singh, Kánh Singh, Lakka Singh and Pahára Singh, the Guru's lieutenants.

Defence.

Statement of Brahma Singh, son of Guláb Singh, about 50, Jat, village Dariápúr, in Kythal.

I became an Udasí Sádh as a beardless youth.

In Sambat 1916, returning from Kashmír, met Bálak Rám at Hazro and was made Kuka; not so; I was told the name (*i. e.,* Rám Nám).

I was living in Gill in 1921, and met Rám Singh at Amritsar, and came on with him to Bhaini. He told me that it was a great trouble to the people to come all the way from Siálkot and Gujránwála to Bhaini to be made Kukas, and that I should undertake the business. I excused myself, and said I wanted to be quiet. He said—"You must do it," and

I undertook it. I go about where people ask me. Jotha Singh is in the same district, and we sometimes go together, sometimes separately. I have two horses, and wonder what has become of them.

I was at a bhog at Lopoki some 15 days before the Amritsar murders. It was held on the death of Mian Singh, who had died two days after the Baisákhi at Tongal; but he owned land at Kamion. He left the land to me, but I gave it up in the Tahsíl.

Jhanda Singh and Mehr Singh (absconded in Amritsar murder case) were present probably; cannot be certain; then says *Mehr Singh* was there; not sure of Jhanda Singh.

After the bhog I went to the Chela-ke-ther, Ajnála Tahsíl; then Fattehwál; thence to Mandála, and that night on to Kála Katai; thence made a double march to Sansera, two coss from Gujránwála; next day through the Gujránwála bázár to Bhowáni Daskakot; next day to Táran, where the marriage was (I was to perform the marriage); and so on; where any one took me I went.

I did teach the women to wear the "kuch," but merely for decency when working, not that they should be decent when martyrs. I never told them to collect cash for coming disturbances, nor yet that the Sikh Ráj was coming.

The people hate me because I tell them not to steal, or kill their infants, or sell their daughters or sisters; therefore they tell lies about me.

I have not been in Hoshiárpúr for ten years; that is Kánh Singh's district.

I used to live at Mutadi, in Philour, in Sambat 1918 or 1919.

I was in Siálkot some 15 days before the Lohri. I then went to Bhaini.

I know nothing of what was going on at Bhaini, as I was ill with liver, but I heard the mastánas were troublesome and had been reported to the Thánadár, and that Lakka Singh was sent to Ludiánah to warn the Government.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—Seems to me a really religious man. May become enthusiastic when excited.

Opinion.

THERE can, I think, be no doubt that Bráhma Singh has for some years past been systematically preaching sedition. There can be little doubt that he knew of the plan to murder the butchers at Amritsar before it took place, and no doubt that he expressed his approval of it afterwards.

He holds, in the trans-Rávi part of the country, a position equal to that of Sáhib Singh, Kánh Singh and Lakka Singh on this side the Rávi, and on the above ground requires treatment similar to theirs (*i. e.*, banishment for life).

There is, however, a difference in the character of the men, as far at least as I can judge of it. He seems to me more of a religious enthusiast and less of a mere political adventurer than the others.

Such a character acting on Sikh nationality would be only the more dangerous in times of excitement; but, should the Kuka sect have become torpid a few years hence (say ten years), I think there would be less danger in allowing the return of Bráhma Singh, under the same restrictions as Rúr Singh and others, than in allowing Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh and Kánh Singh to return.

I would also point out that, although a stronger case as to seditious preaching has been made out against Bráhma Singh than against the rest, this is, I believe, in a measure due to greater activity in hunting up and recording evidence on the subject by the local Police Officer than has been exhibited elsewhere,—also that, having only one man to deal with, it was easier to have effective evidence recorded in the trans-Rávi enquiry than it was in Ludiánah, where all the 11 prisoners come under consideration.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 24th April 1872.

No. VI.—Summary of Evidence regarding Jowáhir Singh.

JOWAHIR SINGH became a wandering Nirmalla Sádh 25 years ago, and a Kuka 11 years ago. Was made a Subha 7 years ago.

Appendix A of 1867. In 1863 he was reported by Gainda Singh, as one of Rám Singh's two lieutenants, and described as "merely a raving fanatic."

He appears in the list for 1866 as propagandist for the Málwa.

Appendix A of 1868. He is mentioned in three different reports as Subha in the year 1867.

Appendix B 1. The Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah, reports that he possesses immense influence. Rám Singh himself bows to him. Is quiet and well behaved.

B 2. Late Police Inspector Narain Singh reports that he is said to be Rám Singh's appointed successor.

B 4. District Superintendent, Police, Hoshiárpúr, enters him in his list of Subhas.

B 10. District Superintendent, Police, Fírozpúr, in whose district he lived till lately, reports him as having great influence and being a dangerous character.

B 11. The same officer records evidence proving him to be an active proselytizing Subha, in constant communication with Rám Singh.

In the evidence taken by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Jowáhir Singh is named, along with the other prisoners generally, as inciting to rebellion and encouraging the recent outbreak.

Appendix 6.

More particularly No. 2, Ghamanda Singh, considers Jowáhir Singh, with four others, the most dangerous amongst the Subhas.

In his deposition before me, Sukhu, Lambardár of Bhaini, describing the darbár at which the outbreak was discussed, and which was held the night before the party started, states that Jowáhir Singh sat with Sáhib Singh and Lakka Singh in *front* of the Guru's charpai (*i. e.*, in the place of honor), the other Subhas sitting on either side.

The evidence recorded by the Deputy Commissioner of Fírozpúr regarding Jowáhir Singh is rather favorable. They all, with one exception, say they never heard him use seditious language, but they prove that he was an active propagandist of the Kuka doctrines.

Appendix F 1.

No. 1, Gurdit Singh, a neighbour, has not seen Jowáhir Singh since after the Raikot butcher murders.

No. 2, Karm Singh, of Biláspúr, where Jowáhir Singh lately lived,—"Jowáhir Singh left Biláspúr about the time of the Raikot murders, and from Raikot went on to Bhaini without coming back to Biláspúr."

No. 3, Anúp Singh states that Jowáhir Singh went to Raikot after the murders.

Jowáhir Singh, of Samand Bhai, deposes before the Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr, that he has heard the prisoner announce to crowds that in 1928 (1871) the English rule would end and the Khálsa be re-established, and that all who were not Kukas would be treated like dogs. Also heard Kukas say Jowáhir Singh was to succeed Rám Singh.

Appendix F 3.

In his defence before the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Gyaní Singh, Subha, stated that Jowáhir Singh had given orders that the number of Kukas in the the British regiments was not to be made known.

Appendix G.

Jowáhir Singh was present at Bhaini during the outbreak and arrested there.

Defence.

Statement of **Jowahir Singh**, son of Dal Singh, of Diloli, in Thanah Dakarn, Tahsíl Moga, Fírozpúr, age 50, caste Jat.

My father died when I was five years old. I used to cultivate, but became a Nirmalla Sádh in Sambat 1905, and have wandered all over the country. Was four years in Benares.

I became a Kuka in Sambat 1917. I found they were good people.

I also became Sádh of a well at Biláspúr, in Siroga.

Was made Subha some seven years ago, and about the same time Kehr Singh, Sudh Singh and Narain Singh were also made Subhas.

All the prisoners are Subhas except Mán Singh. I do not know if Mangal Singh is a Subha.

Narain Singh has gone to the south, but not to make converts; if he had, he would have had Rám Singh's orders to go and do so.

I always go with Rám Singh to all melás. I was at the Diwáli at Murghi and at Anandpúr; also at Damdama. At Damdama I was told that Gyani Singh had taken a talwár from a Mohra Kuka in the Nábha service and put it on; the Police took it from him.

There was a disturbance at the Holi at Kothi. At Pittohi Híra Singh of Sakraudi was walking about with his wife's hair in his hand, and I had it thrown away, in consequence of which he hit me with his knee at the Holi melá, and, the people being angry at this, a row began.

I and Rám Singh separated them. I did not hear that Rám Singh had said, "Why don't you fight with Government if you want to fight?" I did not hear anything of the kind. Rám Singh did say one day that in my former life I had been "jamaband," "the bear man."

I go a good deal to Bhaini. I used to itinerate a little in the Fírozpúr District, but there are so many Subhas that I do not do so much.

I was at Bhaini at the Lohri melá. I had been there for two or three months. I had come for the Dussera, and Rám Singh persuaded me to stay on.

I lived on the occasion of the late Maghi melá at Banjí in an enclosure of my own. I heard that Lehna Singh and Híra Singh were saying that they would take Maler Kotla and Nábha and Patiála; also that Rám Singh had told Sáhib Singh to tell the Thánadár.

I cannot say how Kukas do such evil actions; there are bad and good in every religion.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—Jowáhir Singh seems a genuine fakír, and does not look to me dangerous, but evidently keeps back a good deal that he knows. A great deal of the above was extracted with difficulty from him.

Opinion.

JOWAHIR SINGH has, I think, more of the religious element and less of the political than any of the other Subhas. He does not seem to be turbulent or intriguing, and the evidence of seditious preaching by him individually is not strong, though I by no means accept as conclusive the statement that "he did not preach sedition" made by his neighbours, who would not fail to be influenced by his genuine religious reputation. I am, however, convinced, from the manner of his making his statement, the position he occupied with Rám Singh, and the fact of his going to Raikot immediately after the murders, probably remaining there during the trial and the detention of the murderers there pending the confirmation of the sentence against them, also of his going thence to Bhaini and remaining there at Rám Singh's elbow till the

outbreak six months later,—from all this I am convinced that nothing was done without his knowledge. His conduct therefore cannot be considered as otherwise than culpable, though not to the same extent as the three above mentioned. I would, however, deprecate his return to the Punjab as most dangerous, as his position with Rám Singh and his own personal reputation for sanctity would   him at once to become Rám Singh's successor, revive the dreams of the fanatical, and give sanction and consistency to the schemes of the intriguing. Unless, therefore, there is a disappearance of Kuka-ism to an extent that we cannot at present anticipate, I would recommend that Jowáhir Singh's banishment be perpetual.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 25th April 1872.

No. VII.—Summary of Evidence regarding Malúk Singh.

MALUK SINGH, unlike the generality of the Subhas, has a family. Was made a Kuka eight years ago, and a Subha six years ago.

Has lately left his home in Fírozpúr and gone to work on the canal not far from Bhaini. A number of people from the lower parts of Fírozpúr and from Sirsa have been driven to a similar move by the late scarcity. Among these are a number of Kukas. There is nothing to show whether Malúk Singh's move was one of family necessity or was made with a view to have a force of Kukas under their local leader in the vicinity of Bhaini.

Malúk Singh appears a leading Subha in the Police Reports for 1866, also in three of the lists of 1867.

Appendix A. of 1867.
Appendix of 1868.

In February 1869, a band of some 50 Kukas, having collected their goods and cash into a common store at Malúk Singh's village of Phulehwála, went on to Mastán Singh's village of Tirajpúr on the borders of Sirsa, and there declared the English rule at an end and that of the Khálsa commenced. Malúk Singh was of the party; but on the arrival on the third day of two English officers with a party of Police they were induced to disperse. Malúk Singh, who had found his authority usurped by Mastán Singh, assisted in bringing about this result. The case was tried as one of riot, instead of insurrection, under orders from Government, and Malúk Singh got off with a warning.

Appendix of 1870.

Appendix B. 1. The Deputy Inspector-General reports him as a family man,—a successful propagandist, of considerable influence.

Appendix B. 10. District Superintendent, Police, Fírozpúr, reports him as formerly a Subha of note,—latterly not much thought of.

Appendix B. 11.

Evidence recorded by the same officer supports this, and adds he has latterly concealed the fact that he is a Kuka.

Appendix. C.

In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Malúk Singh is spoken of, in common with the other prisoners, as preaching sedition.

Appendix F.

In the deposition taken by Deputy Commissioner, Fírozpúr, Malúk Singh appears as a well-known propagandist, but his teaching sedition is denied. It is also proved that, as he himself admits, he was present at the outbreak at Tirajpúr in February 1869.

In his deposition, No. 3, before Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr, Badháwa Singh, Lambardár of Phulleh, states—"I turned Malúk Singh out of my village after the disturbance of February 1869. He had at that time asked me to become a Kuka, and that he would make me a Subha when he got his kingdom; also that English rule would soon come to an end. He was very active in the Tirajpúr disturbances, and collected treasure with that object."

Dula Singh, No. 4, says he never heard him preach sedition, but he collected treasure and took part in the Mokatsar (*i. e.*, Tirajpúr) affair.

Lakka Singh Subha's statement.

Lakka Singh Subha states that he went down by Rám Singh's orders to re-distribute the money and grain that had been collected at Malúk Singh's village.

NOTE.—It will be observed that this money was in addition to the Rs. 5,000 found by Mr. Turton Smith, so that a considerable sum must have been collected.

Defence.

Statement of MALUK SINGH, son of Sukha Singh, 39 years old, village Phulehwála, Mukatsar, in Fírozpúr.

RAM SINGH made me a Kuka at Bhaini in 1921. After two years was made a Subha. I was at Tirajpúr [*i. e.*, at the outbreak]. There was a melá there. A number of mastánas had collected their property at my village, but under Samand Singh (*alias* Mastán Singh). After they had been punished Rám Singh sent Jowáhir Singh, Gyaní Singh and Dubha Singh to warn us, and I was taken to Bhaini for three days.

I have gone to the works on the canal on account of the scarcity, but have not parted with my land.

I was present at the Lohri melá, but left the night of the melá. Did not see the mastánas.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—Looks as if he could become a mastána; otherwise a quiet fellow.

Opinion.

IT appears from the above that Malúk Singh was an influential and seditious fanatic in February 1869, but that since that time his zeal has considerably cooled down. He is also a family man, and owns land. I think he might with safety be allowed to return at the end of

two years, on condition of remaining at his home under the surveillance of the Police, and never to attend fairs or meetings of any kind.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 23rd April 1872.

No. VIII.—Summary of Evidence regarding Mán Singh.

MAN SINGH became a Kuka seven years ago. He is not a Subha, but a Sub-Subha in the Fírozpúr District. He owns land, most of which he has mortgaged. He lives at his own village.

He does not appear in the lists of leading men for 1866 and 1867 but in the report on the outbreak at Tirajpúr in February 1869 one Mán Singh appears, but not in a prominent position, and was discharged without trial. He denies that this is he, but there is evidence to prove that it is.

Appendix A of 1870.

The Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah, reports that he is not a Subha, but a Sub-Subha of Jowáhir Singh, and allowed to make converts.

Appendix B 1.

The District Superintendent, Police, Fírozpúr, reports him as a bad character, dangerous, and of great influence; present at Maloudh and Maler Kotla affairs; afterwards arrested at his own village.

B 10.

The evidence taken by the above officer goes to prove that he was most active and zealous, and continually in communication with Rám Singh.

B 11.

Most of the witnesses who give evidence before Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, couple Mán Singh up with the 10 Subhas; but they record nothing special recording him.

Appendix C.

In his evidence before me, Bhagwána, chaukidár of Bhaini, states that Subha Mán Singh left on the morning of the day on which Híra Singh had started with a band of some 200 men, stating that they meant to join the enterprise if successful.

Appendix C. 3.

He subsequently, when contradicted by Sukhu, his Lambardár, said that this was another Mán Singh, but was evidently not very clear about it. It is not impossible it was this Mán Singh, as he admits having left Bhaini at that very hour, but with a party of five.

Sukhu, the said Lambardár, says that at the darbár of the previous evening Mán Singh gave out that Mán Singh would, if the attack on Maler Kotla was successful, arrange for a rising in Fírozpúr; but the deponent either was or represented himself to be under the impression that Mán Singh, of the Fírozpúr District, was not at Bhaini at the time.

No. 5.—Before the Assistant Commissioner, Fírozpúr, *Mán Singh*, Lambardár of Taidohi, Mán Singh's village, deposes that the latter was at Bhaini on the occasion of the late outbreak, but had returned to his village before it

Appendix F.

occurred, which, according to Mán Singh's own statement, is impossible: also he never used seditious language.

No. 6.—*Mahtáb Singh's* statement is similar, and evidently false.

Appendix F 2.

Jowáhir Singh, Lambardár of Samad Bhai, deposes that Mán Singh is a man of influence, very active; tried to convert him, telling him that in 1928 the English rule was to end, and the Khálsa be re-established. He took part in the disturbance of 1869; heard from many Kukas that he (Mán Singh) took part in the attack on Maloudh. He returned to his village about four days after the attack on Maloudh; does not think he was at Maler Kotla.

Appendix F 3.

No. 1.—*Budh Singh, Deputy Inspector.*—Mán Singh is a headman, though not a Subha; has himself heard him announce the re-establishment of Sikh rule; heard that he took part in the affairs at Maloudh and Maler Kotla, and returned about days later.

No. 2—*Guláb Singh*—says:—Mán Singh is not a Subha, but is in all respects like one,—active, and prophesying the re-establishment of Sikh rule.

No. 5—*Nidhána*—says:—Mán Singh is a headman, though not a Subha; never heard him talk sedition. He has sold nearly all his land, commencing some six years ago.

No. 6—*Sadha Singh.*—To much the same effect.

Appendix F 4.

The Deputy Commissioner writes, after enquiry which I requested him to make, that this is the same Mán Singh who took part in the outbreak at Tirajpúr, and that he mortgaged his land to feed the rioters.

Defence.

Statement of Mán Singh, son of Makhan Singh, of Saidoki, in Fírozpúr, 40 years of age, Jat.

I was made a Kuka by Rám Singh in Sambat 1922. I am a cultivator. I have no jewels. My land I have not sold, but I have mortgaged it from time to time since Sambat 1919 to various persons:—

1918.	1924.	1925.	1927.	1926.	1928.
Ratan Singh, 6½ Ghumaos;	Attar Singh, 6 Ghumaos;	Chúr Singh, 6 Ghumaos;	Dilela, 1½ Ghumaos;	Kishan Singh, 1¾ Ghumaos;	Khazán Singh, 2 Ghumaos;

1928 and 1½ to Rámdiál. One Ghumao is in my own hands.

I am not a Subha, "nám denawála;" the other prisoners are Subhas. I am not sure about Mangal Singh being a Subha, but he is a great Sikh. The "nám" is "Wáh Guru."

[Note.—He makes a great fuss about saying this, and repeats it afterwards "within his teeth," as I was previously told was Rám Singh's order.]

I was at Bhaini at the Lohri melá. I left about 7 or 8 in the morning after the melá. There were 5 men with me,—Jet Singh, Búta Singh and Kehr Singh, of my village, Dharm Singh and Diwán

Singh, of a Nábha village close by. I was not present at the Tirajpúr outbreak. Malúk Singh will prove all about it. My village is 40 coss off.

I have a wife and six children.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—This man seem a harmless, quiet fellow,—a very ordinary Jat Sikh.

Opinion.

I CONSIDER it proved that this is the Mán Singh who took part in the outbreak at Tirajpúr. It is also highly probable that he has mortgaged his lands to feed Kukas. Although not a Subha, he holds very nearly the same position. He has undoubtedly been a zealous Sub-Subha of Rám Singh, and an active propagandist. There is evidently a considerable inclination to screen him amongst many of the witnesses, and, taking his conduct at Tirajpúr into consideration, I am inclined to believe those who declare they have heard him preach sedition.

He himself admits that he only left Bhaini the morning of the day the party who attacked Maloudh started. I am not inclined to believe that he joined that party, but it is not improbable that he was the Mán Singh who was with the other party who were prepared to join them in case of success.

He does not seem to me to be the style of man to do much as a leader acting independently. I would therefore recommend his being allowed to return in three years if things have quieted down. He should not under any circumstances return along with Malúk Singh, as he belongs to the same part of the country.

If allowed to return, it should be under the same restrictions as recommended for the others.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 23rd April 1872.

No. IX.—Summary of Evidence regarding Hukma Singh.

HUKMA SINGH was a Nirmalla Sádh; has only visited his own village occasionally for the last 20 years; has no family; was made a Kuka 14, and a Subha 5, years ago.

Appendix A of 1868. Hukma Singh is not mentioned in the lists for 1866, but appears in all three lists for 1867.

B. 1. Deputy Inspector-General: "Was made Subha in 1861; degraded for immorality; afterwards reinstated; of no great mark."

B. 2. Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh states that he comes from the same

village, Bittohi, as the three men hanged for the Raikot murder; that he is a zealous Subha, always with Rám Singh.

B 10. District Superintendent, Police, Fíroz-pur,—"Subha; always with Rám Singh."

C. 1. In the evidence taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Hukma is mentioned, along with the other Subhas generally, as preaching sedition.

He lived permanently with Rám Singh at Bhaini, and was present during the Maghi melá, and was arrested there after the outbreak.

Defence.

Statement of HUKMA SINGH, of Pittohi, age 35, caste Jat.

I WAS made Kuka by Rám Singh at Bhaini in Sambat 1914, and was made Subha in Sambat 1923. Previous to being made Kuka I was a Nirmalla Sádh, and have only visited my village occasionally for the last 20 years; have no family.

I live at Bhaini, and copy holy books (pothís), and if any one wants the "nám" (name) I give it them.

I was present at the Holi melá at Kothi. There was a disturbance. Híra Singh, of Sakroudi, hit Jowáhir Singh with a stick. I don't know why. Was taking care of Rám Singh's boxes. Was also at the Damdama fair.

I was also at Bhaini at the Lohri fair.

Híra Singh and Lehna Singh were abusing everybody, and abused the Subhas themselves, saying that they did not get bread to eat or horses to ride.

I had gone out to bathe. On my return I heard that Rám Singh had fed the mastánas and afterwards sent Lakka Singh to start them off from the well to their homes.

Rám Singh had previously given a list of the mastánas' names to the Thanadár, and told him they intended mischief.

I have done no harm. Am a Padri.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—This man seems of no mark; not a pleasant fellow; but very like the ordinary run of padris at shrines—a poor, mean fellow.

Opinion.

HUKMA SINGH does not seem a man of much mark or importance; but, apart from the inadvisability of allowing any of the prisoners to return to the Punjab at present, the fact that he has been for years in close personal attendance on Rám Singh, and has been employed copying pothís (holy books), and that the books found on Kukas are generally seditious in their tendency, make his immediate return most inexpedient. I think he might be sent back in a year's time if all is quiet,

and made over to the Rája of Nábha, who would willingly see that he lived quietly under police surveillance at his village of Pittohi—neither holding meetings nor attending fairs.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 23rd April 1872.

No. X.—Summary of Evidence regarding Pahára Singh.

PAHARA SINGH was in the service of Mith Singh, Sardár of Maloudh, but left it during the mutiny to become a Nirmalla Sádh or fakír.

He was made a Kuka 11, and a Subha 5, years ago.

Appendix A of 1868. His name does not appear in the lists for 1866, but is down as a Subha in those for 1867.

B 1. Deputy Inspector-General, Ambálah, reports that he is a fakír, and has considerable influence.

B 5. B 6. Deputy Inspector-General, Lahore, reports that Pahára Singh was sent to report to Rám Singh the contemplated butcher murders at Amritsar, and get his orders. Colonel Baillie states that Pahára Singh admitted to him that he had been at the Lopoki meeting before the murders.

B 7. District Superintendent, Police, Lahore, mentions him as a Subha.

B 8. So does District Superintendent of Police, Hoshiárpúr.

B 10. District Superintendent of Police, Fírozpúr, calls him a noted Subha employed to collect information for Rám Singh.

Appendix I. Basáwa Singh, a witness in the Amritsar murder case, deposed to having gone down with Pahára Singh to Rám Singh to tell him that the Lopoki men, with whom, from Basáwa Singh's statement in the preliminary enquiry, it appears he (Pahára Singh) had been staying, were bent on carrying out the murder.

Appendix C 1. In the depositions taken by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Pahára Singh is spoken of, along with the other Subhas generally, as preaching sedition, and urging the Sakroudi men in their attack on Kotla.

More particularly *Bhola Singh* says:—" Doubtless Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh and Pahára Singh were most urgent in their exhortations" (to carry out the attack).

Ghamanda Singh considers Pahára Singh, with four others, the most dangerous of the Subhas.

Bála specially notes Pahára Singh as one of those who taught sedition at the late melá.

Vysákha Singh, servant of Bráhma Singh, mentions Pahára Singh as equal in authority to Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh and Mán Singh. Sardár Mit Singh, of Maloudh, in conversation with me, said he had the very worst opinion of Pahára Singh, who had formerly been in his employ, as he was a dangerous, intriguing fellow.

Defence.

Statement of PAHARA SINGH, son of Híma, caste Jat, age 42, of Maloudh.

I was in Sardár Mit Singh's service, but gave it up in the mutiny year and became a Nirmalla Sádh.

Rám Singh made me a Kuka in Sambat 1917, and five years ago I was made a Subha.

I have then and since lived in Saar, as there are many of my relations, also many " námbhai," Kukas.

Always go about with Rám Singh to all melás. Was with him at Amritsar, at Anandpúr, at Kotha, but not at Damdama Sáhib.

* Knows rather too little about this.

Denies having ever gone with any one to ask Rám Singh about the the butcher murders.*

I went to Bhaini some 20 days before the Lohri melá.

I do not know anything about the mastánas, except that they threatened to kill Subhas Gopál Singh, Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh, and myself, and Rám Singh begged them to be quiet, and sent a list of them to the Thanadár.

This all I know. I was out at a well worshipping God all day.

The day after the next day Rám Singh sent Lakka Singh to let the Deputy Commissioner know, as he feared they would do some mischief.

Read and acknowledged correct.

NOTE.—A fanatical, dangerous-looking man, but not of very much mark ; there is, however, a good deal of determination in his face.

Opinion.

PAHARA SINGH is undoubtedly a Subha of much influence, and a decidedly dangerous character. He was evidently privy to the project to murder the Amritsar butchers, though he seems to have been anxious not to peril his own neck in the matter.

He may have less influence, but I am inclined to think him more dangerous than Bráhma Singh, and would recommend his remaining in banishment for ten years, after which his case might be reconsidered with reference to the state of the country; but, if allowed to return, he should remain under Police surveillance in his village, and be prohibited from holding meetings or attending fairs.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

The 24*th April* 1872.

No. XI.—Summary of Evidence regarding Sardár Mangal Singh.

SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, a man of wealth and position, is a brother-in-law's son of the late Máharája of Patiála, and a Patiála subject living in Bishanpura, but he is also Jagírdár of the British village of Raipúr, in Ludiánah.

He was some years ago sent down on a mission to Dholpúr, and on his return got into disgrace about some jewels with which he had been entrusted.

It is said he made the jewels over to Rám Singh for safe custody, and that he had a disagreement with Rám Singh about them, when, under pressure from the Máharája, he found himself compelled to disgorge.

Appendix A of 1867. In 1866 Gainda Singh, spy, reported that Sardár Mangal Singh was one who had promised assistance to the Kukas in the event of a rising.

In October 1867, a spy of Captain Menzies reports that he found

Appendix A of 1868. Mangal Singh with five sowars at Bhaini paying his respects to Rám Singh previous to going to Dholpúr, and that he promised to send the Guru Rs. 200 a month.

He also appears in the records for that year as accompanying Rám Singh as a Subha at the Amritsar and Anandpúr melás; also in 1869 in Gurdáspúr. His name does not appear in the reports lately called

Appendix A of 1871. for from Police Officers, as he was not considered a British subject.

Mangal Singh denies that he is a Subha, but his fellow-prisoners, Sáhib Singh excepted, call him one. Lakka Singh says he had leave to make converts in Dholpúr.

In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiánah, Mangal Singh is called invariably a Subha, and the statements regarding generally seditious teaching apply to him.

More particularly Bhola Singh knows that Mangal Singh was promised Patiála as soon as Rám Singh commenced to reign; also that the Kukas say that when Mangal Singh returns all the other Subhas will be released, and the Ráj commence.

2. Ghamanda Singh considers Mangal Singh, with four others, the most dangerous of the Subhas.

3. Bela has a similar opinion, coupling his name with that of Sáhib Singh, Lakka Singh and Kánh Singh.

4. So does Dewa Singh, coupling him with Sáhib Singh and Lakka Singh.

5. Partáb Singh has heard Mangal Singh talk sedition, and so has Daulat Rám, No. 7.

6. Nihál Singh believes Mangal Singh to be the worst after Sáhib Singh and Lakka Singh.

C 2. 1. Sukha, Lambardár of Bhaini, knows that Mangal Singh was a Kuka 7 months ago.

2. Dula saw Mangal Singh make Rám Singh a present in darbár at the Dussera in October, after the butcher murders.

3. Hakim has seen him going to visit Rám Singh two or three times since the Dussera.

4. Wazír to the same effect.

5. Foji has seen him pay Rám Singh several visits during the last seven months.

Defence.

Statement of MANGAL SARDAR, of Bishanpúr, in Patiála, and Raipúr, Ludiánah.

HAVING had the charges against him explained to him, states:—

Some 5 years ago or perhaps more my son was ill, and I was advised to take him to Rám Singh. He cured him, and I became a believer in Rám Singh, but never formally a Kuka. I was in disgrace in Patiála on account of money dealings with my niece, the Ráni of Dholpúr; it had nothing to do with my Kuka leanings. Without doubt I used to give largely, Rs. 200, Rs. 300, Rs. 400, and so on, to Rám Singh, because he was a holy man; and I was the more inclined to do so *as he and his Subhas were treated with respect by Government officers.*

I never became a Subha, nor did I make any Kukas.

When I saw that the Kukas were giving trouble, and that Government was displeased with them, I gave up Kuka-ism. This was about a year and a half ago.

If Government will release me, I will go andpublicly recant at the Akál Bungah at Amritsar.

I have taken to eating flesh and drinking wine since I renounced Kuka-ism.

I cannot think why I was arrested. I have no enemies in Patiála.

My daughter is engaged to marry Baddan Singh's (of Maloudh) son.

The other prisoners are all Subhas but Mán Singh, who is not a Subha. Jotha Singh is a great Subha, much looked up to. He was made Kuka by Bálak Rám of Hazro. Lakka Singh is a troublesome fellow; the other Subhas are not so. If Government want to prevent further trouble, they have only to prevent the Kukas meeting in crowds. I hear that Sáhib Singh and Kehr Singh took the buffaloes to Nipál; it was said it was a mercantile transaction, and that buffaloes were expensive in Nipál. [Admits this is folly.] I know nothing for certain about the Kukas for the last 18 months.

Read over to prisoner and acknowledged to be correct.

NOTE.—THIS is a sharp man, with rather a long tongue, and not one I would trust far; but he seems to understand the utter folly of attempts such as that on Kotla, and altogether to set our superiority at its full value.

Opinion.

THERE can be no doubt that in some respects Sardár Mangal Singh is Rám Singh's most important follower. His joining the Kukas had

more effect in furthering the cause than any event which has lately occurred.

It was generally believed, particularly by those at a distance, that the Máharája of Patiála was of the same way of thinking.

The Sardár, moreover, has lands, money, horses and arms at his disposal.

It is difficult to believe that a Sardár who has attended Courts, travelled down to Dholpúr and back, and is a shrewd fellow, with apparently a clear knowledge of our resources at least in the Punjab, should have any sympathy with an insane attempt like that at Kotla and at Maloudh, with which latter house also he is about to be connected by marriage; but his absence from Bhaini on the occasion of the late outbreak was compulsory, he being under orders to remain at Patiála, and therefore cannot count for or against.

On the other hand, Mangal Singh looks like a man who could go in for a great venture, and no one, not even Rám Singh himself, was in a position to profit more by a restoration of the Sikh Ráj by Kuka means.

Whatever were the designs, intentions and avowed wishes of Rám Singh and his advisers, Mangal Singh could not have been ignorant of them, and yet we find him spending a very large portion of his income on Rám Singh.

That he was equally dangerous and seditious in his designs with the other Subhas I have no hesitation in believing, and should on those grounds recommend his perpetual banishment.

He has, however, declared that he has renounced Kuka-ism. His statement (which is clearly false) that he renounced it at the time and in consequence of the Raikot murders is immaterial. The point is that he is now prepared to renounce Kuka-ism publicly at Amritsar.

It is to be observed that his proposal was perfectly spontaneous, and that not one of the other prisoners ever hinted at such a course, or expressed the slightest doubts as to the excellence of their sect.

For any of the other ten to renounce Kuka-ism would be to descend to the insignificant position from which they have risen; they have also been accustomed in their earlier life to hardship, so that their present privations come easy to them.

To Mangal Singh his present discomforts are very grievous, as he loses wealth, family comforts and position. In short, he loses everything,—the others nothing.

This very fact makes it probable that his repentance is sincere, and his position and lands give us at any time a hold on him which we have not on the others.

I think the effect of a public recantation, which the Máharája of Patiála could easily see was carried out, would have the best effect in breaking up the Kuka sect.

Sardár Mangal Singh, however, is the Máharája's prisoner, not ours, and I believe I shall not be expected to pass any opinion on the case

from this point of view; the suggestion I have made above is of cours entirely irrespective of any such consideration.

I would only protest against half measures with this particula man; he should either be allowed to return at once or be kept i perpetual banishment.

(Sd.) J. W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner

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